START

The Emma Goldman Papers

REEL

55

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Microfilm Edition

Reel 55

Goldman Writings

Drafts

Edited by
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Ronald J. Zboray
and
Daniel Cornford

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In memory of Brenda J. Butler (1953-1990)

who, from 1987 to 1990, coordinated the search for Goldman documents in Europe, Asia and the Soviet Union, thus expanding the Goldman Papers collection to reflect the international dimension of Goldman's life and work.

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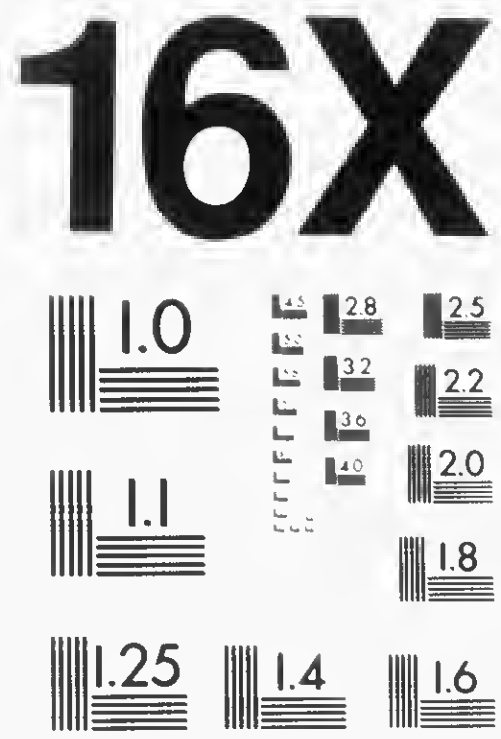
Introduction to Reels 54 and 55 (Goldman Writings: Drafts)

Although some drafts of Goldman's lectures or essays were included as samples among Goldman's published essays, lectures, summaries, and excerpts of speeches (Reels 47 through 53), Reels 54 and 55 contain *only* drafts of essays and lectures.

Most of these drafts are published here for the first time. They disclose the depth and breadth of Goldman's intellectual curiosity and her interest in all facets of life: literature, art, sexuality, education. Her writings on political theory, theories of education, the Chinese Revolution, social analyses of crime and prisons, and the rise of fascism and Stalinism reveal the inquisitive, diligent mind of an original thinker. Goldman believed that no subject should be excluded from public debate and reflection, hence the remarkable range of themes presented in these reels.

The drafts have been arranged in conceptual chapters by the editors of the Emma Goldman Papers. Documents are tentatively dated.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Theories of Education

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THE SOCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE MODERN SCHOOL

To fully grasp the social importance of the modern school, we must understand first the school as it is being operated today, and secondly the idea underlying the modern school movement. educational

What, then, is the school of today? No matter whether public, private or parochial?

It is for the child what the prison is for the convict and the barracks for the soldier - a place where everything is being used to break the will of the child, and then to pound, knead and shape it into a being utterly foreign to itself.

I do not mean to say that this process is carried on consciously; it is but a part of a system which can maintain itself only through absolute discipline and uniformity; therein, I think, lies the greatest crime of present day society.

Naturally, the method of breaking man's will must begin at a very early age; that is, with the child, because at that time the human mind is most pliable; just as acrobats and contortionists, in order to achieve skill over their muscles, begin to drill and exercise when the muscles are still pliable.

The very notion that knowledge can be obtained only in school through systematic drilling and that school time is the only period during which knowledge may be acquired, is in itself so preposterous as to completely condemn our system of education as arbitrary and useless.

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Supposing anyone were to suggest that the best results for the individual and society can be derived through compulsory feeing. Would not the most ignorant rebel against such a stupid procedure? And yet the stomach has by far greater adaptability to almost any situation than the brain. With all that we find it quite natural to have compulsory mental feeding.

Indeed, we actually consider ourselves superior to other nations, because we have evolved a compulsory brain tube through which for a certain number of hours every day, and for so many years, we can force into the child's mind a large quantity of mental nutrition.

Emerson said sixty years ago, "We are students of words; we are shut up in schools and colleges for ten or fifteen years and come out a bag of wind, a memory of words, and do not know a thing." Since these wise words were written, America has reached the very omnipotence of a school system, and yet we are face to face with the fact of complete impotency in results.

The great harm done by our system of education is not so much that it teaches nothing worth knowing, that it helps to perpetuate privileged classes, that it assists them in the criminal procedure of robbing and exploiting the masses; the harm of the system lies in its boastful acclamation that it stands for true education, and thereby enslaving the masses a great deal more than could an absolute ruler.

Almost everyone in America, liberals and radicals included, believe that the modern school for European countries is a

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great idea, but that it is unnecessary with us. "Look at our opportunities," they proclaim.

As a matter of fact the modern school is needed in American much more than in Spain or in any other country, because nowhere is there such little regard for personal liberty and originality of thought.

Uniformity and imitation are our motto. At the very moment of birth until life ceases this motto is imposed upon every child as the only possible path ~~our existence~~ to success.

Not a teacher or educator in America who could keep his position if he dared show the least tendency to break through uniformity and imitation..

In New York a high school teacher, Henrietta Rodman, in her literature class, explained to her girls the relation of George Eliot to Lewis. The little girl raised in a Catholic home and the supreme result of discipline and uniformity related the incident of the school to her mother. The latter reported it to the ~~police~~ priest, and the ~~police~~ priest saw fit to report Miss Rodman to the board of education.

Remember, in America the State and the Church are separate institutions, yet the board of education, called Miss Rodman to account and made it very clear to her that if she were to permit herself any such liberties again she would be dismissed from her post.

In Newark, N.J., Mr. Stewart, a very efficient high school teacher, presided at the Ferrer Memorial meeting, thereby insulting the Catholics of that city, who promptly entered a protest with

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the board of education, Mr. Stewart was put on trial and was compelled to apologize in order to keep his position. In fact our halls of learning, from the public school to the university, are but straight jackets for teachers as well as pupils, simply because a straight jacket of the mind is the greatest guarantee for a dull, colorless, inert mass moving like a pack of sheep between two high walls.

I think it is high time that all advanced people should be clear on this point, that our present system of economic and political dependence is maintained not so much by laws and courts as it is by an inert mass of humanity, drilled and pounded into absolute uniformity, and that the school today represents the most efficient medium to accomplish that end. I do not think that I am exaggerating, nor that I stand alone in this position; I quote from an article in Mother Earth of September 1910 by Dr. Hallman, a brilliant school teacher with nearly twenty-five years of experience, and this is what he has to say: "Our schools have failed because they rest upon compulsion and restraint. Children are arbitrarily commanded what, when and how to do things. Initiative and originality, self-expression and individuality are tabooed. It is deemed possible and important that all should be interested in the same things; in the same sequence, and at the same time. The worship of the idol of uniformity continues openly and quietly. And to make doubly sure that there shall be no heterodox interference; school supervision dictates every step and even the manner and mode of it, so that disturbing initiative or originality and the rest may not enter by way of the teacher. We still hear ever much of order, of methods, of system, of discipline, in the

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death dealing sense of long ago; and these aim at repression rather than at the liberation of life.

"Under the circumstances teachers are mere tools, automatons who perpetuate a machine that turns out automatons. They persist in forcing their knowledge upon the pupil, ignore or repress their instinctive yearning for use and beauty, and drag or drive them in an ill-named, logical course, into spiritless drill. They substitute for natural inner incentives that fear no difficulty and shrink from no effort, incentives of external compulsion and artificial bribes, which, usually based upon fear or upon anti-social greed or rivalry, arrest development or lead it astray. They prevent or handicap the development of joy in the work for its own sake, are hostile to purposeful doing, quench the ardor of creative initiative and the fervor of social service, and substitute for these abiding motives, transient, perishable caprice."

It goes without saying that the child becomes stunted, that its mind is dulled, and that its very being becomes warped, thus making it unfit to take its place in the social struggle as an independent factor. Indeed, there is nothing hated so much in the world today as independent factors in whatever line.

The modern school repudiates utterly this pernicious and truly criminal system of education. It maintains that there is no more harmony between compulsion and education than there is between tyranny and liberty; the two being as far apart as the poles. The underlying principle of the modern school is this: education is a process of drawing out, not of driving in; it aims at the possibility that the child should be left free to develop

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spontaneously, directing his own efforts and choosing the branches of knowledge which he desires to study. That, therefore, the teacher instead of opposing, or presenting as authoritiative his own opinions, predilections or beliefs should be a sensitive instrument responding to the need of the child as they are at any time manifested; a channel through which the child may attain so much of the ordered knowledge of the world, as he shows himself ready to receive and assimilate. Scientific, demonstrable facts in the modern school will be presented as facts, but no interpretation of theory, social, political or religious will be presented as having in itself such sanction, or intellectual sovereignty as precludes the right to criticise or disbelieve.

The modern school, then, must be libertarian. Each pupil must be left free to his true self. The main object of the school is the promotion of the harmonious development of all of the faculties latent in the child. There can be no coercion in the modern school, nor any such rules or regulations. The teacher may well evoke through his own enthusiasm and nobility of character, the latent enthusiasm and nobility of his pupils; but he will overstep the liberties of his function, as soon as he attempts to force the child in any way whatsoever. To discipline a child is invariably to set up a false moral standard, since the child is thereby led to suppose that punishment is something to be imposed upon him from without, by a person more powerful, instead of being a natural and unavoidable reaction and result of his own acts.

The social purpose of the modern school is to develop individuals through knowledge, and the free play of characteristic traits, so that he may become a social being; first because he has

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learned to know himself, to know his relation to his fellow man, and to realize himself in a harmonious blending with society.

Naturally, the modern school does not propose to throw aside all that educators have learned through the mistakes of the past. But though it will accept from past experience, it must at all times employ methods and materials that will tend to promote the self-expression of the child. To illustrate: In teaching composition, in our present day school, the child is rarely allowed to use either judgment or free initiative. The modern school aims to teach composition through original themes on topics chosen by the pupils from experience in their own lives. Stories and sketches suggested by the imaginative or actual experience of the pupils.

This new method immediately opens up a new vista of possibilities. Children are extremely impressionable, and very vivid; besides not yet having been pounded into uniformity, their experience will inevitably contain much more originality, as well as beauty, than that of the teacher; also it is reasonable to assume that the child is intensely interested in the things which concern its life. Must not then composition based upon the experience and imagination of the pupil furnish greater material for thought and development than is being derived from the clocklike methods of today which is at best nothing but imitation.

Everyone at all conversant with the present method of education knows that in teaching history the child is being taught what Carlyle has called a "compilation of lies." A king here, a president there, and a few heroes who are to be worshiped after death make up the usual material which constitute history. The

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modern school in teaching history must bring before the child a panorama of dramatic periods and incidents, illustrative of the main movements and epochs of human development. It must, therefore, help to develop an appreciation in the child of the struggle of past generations, for progress and liberty, and thereby develop a respect for every truth that aims to emancipate the human race. The underlying principle of the modern school is to make the mere instructionist impossible; the instructionist blinded by his paltry specialty to the full life it is meant to serve; the narrowminded worshiper of uniformity; the small-souled reactionary who cries "for more spelling and arithmetic and less life;" the self-sufficient apostle of consolation, who in his worship of what has been fails to see what is and what ought to be; the stupid adherent of a decaying age who makes war upon the fresh vigor that is sprouting from the soil – all these the modern ~~method of education~~ school aims to annihilate.

replace by education as the life as the true interpretation of education.

A new day is dawning when the school will serve life in all its phases and reverently lift each human child to its appropriate place in a common life of beneficent social efficiency, whose motto will be not uniformity and discipline but freedom, expansion, good will and joy for each and all.

This idea of modern education is by no means novel; it has been propagated by all the great educators of the world. J.J. Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel were its pioneers. In more modern times the idea of the modern school was carried out successfully in practice by Toletoy, Sebastian Faure, and Francisco Ferrer. That the latter was most successful is proved by the fact

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that both the Spanish government and the catholic church saw in his work the danger to their power; but Ferrer has not died in vain; indeed it was his death that gave a tremendous impetus to the modern school movement, which is now spreading all over Europe and which is also beginning to assert itself in America.

The Francisco Ferrer association, with branches all over the United States, has organized a Ferrer center and modern school in New York. It has at its disposal some of the best teachers of the city, who have already affiliated themselves with the school,

In sending out the prospectus the Ferrer modern school of N.Y. appeals to all thinking men and women, especially to all radicals, for it is in their interest that they should be combine in affording to children the opportunity to develop into free men and women capable of facing life in all its problems and complications and of giving bountifully of their efforts to the world. The modern school will not impose any ~~iems~~, nor will it flatten, shape and hammer the child into a mere screw to hold firm ~~the~~ Nail capitalistic machine. Instead the child is to ~~be~~ prepared to receive the new heritage, a new social order, without man-made laws, with freedom and opportunity for all.

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[Sex Education and Children] / Emma Goldman. – (fragment). – 10 p. ; 25 × 16 cm.

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A second example
of the a Divine Music
was placed taking
[illegible] place
if people during this
period of Mrs Meeker
daughter lost a
a dear young lost
cause of Meeker
died and [illegible] the
He [illegible] out pastor
[illegible] [illegible] me
that the affectionately
among young people
is very rare and
but when it did

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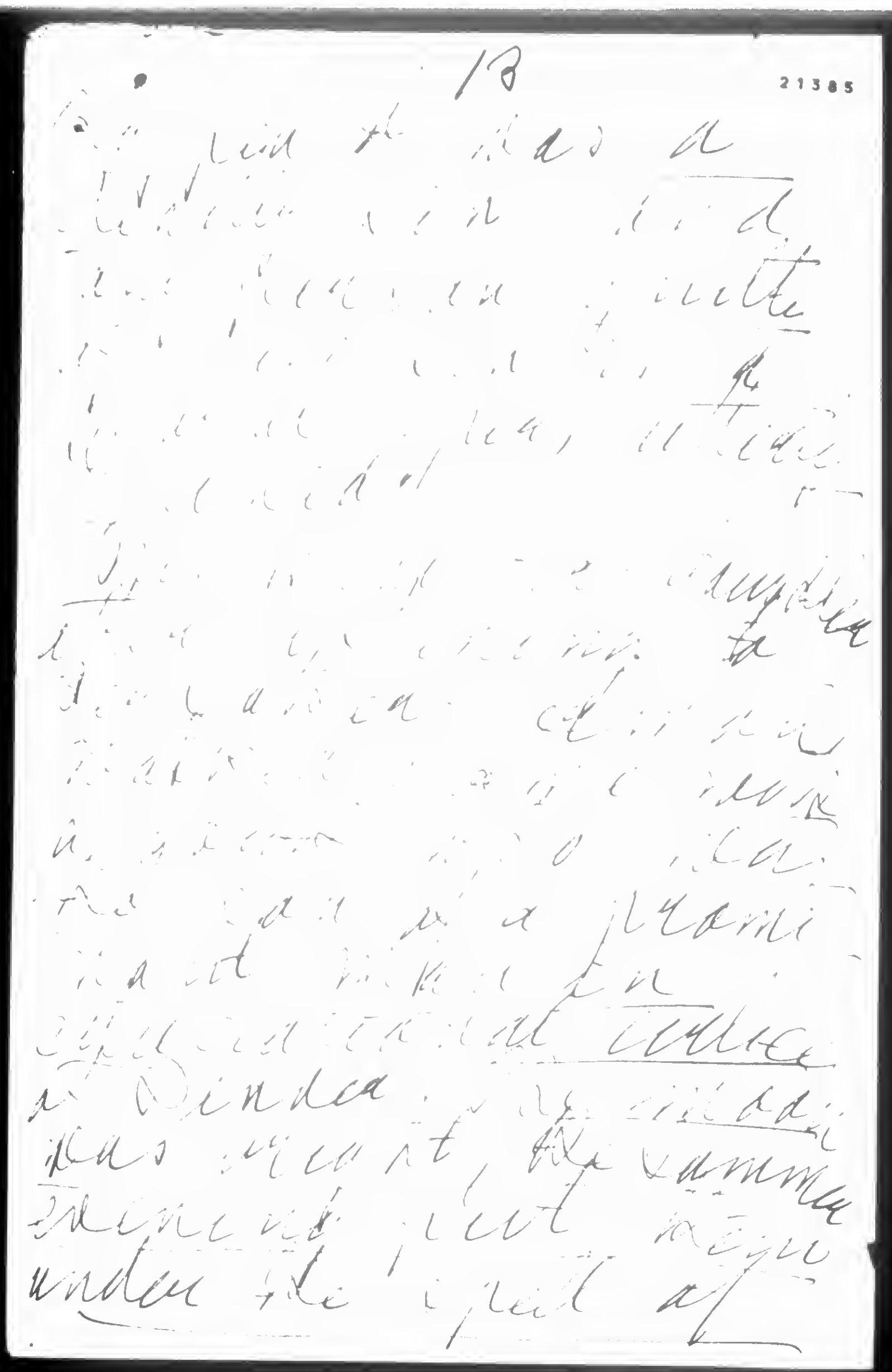

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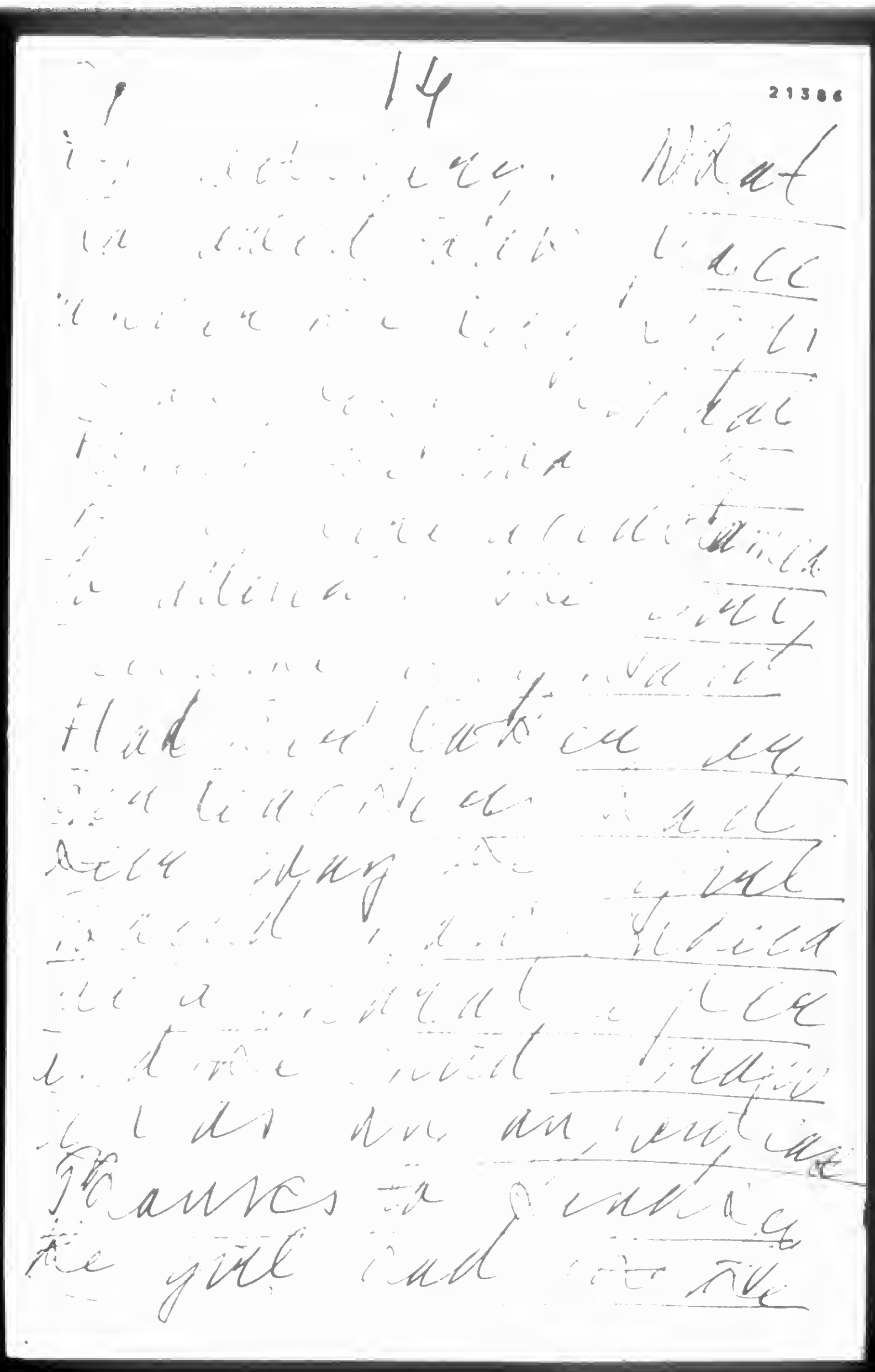

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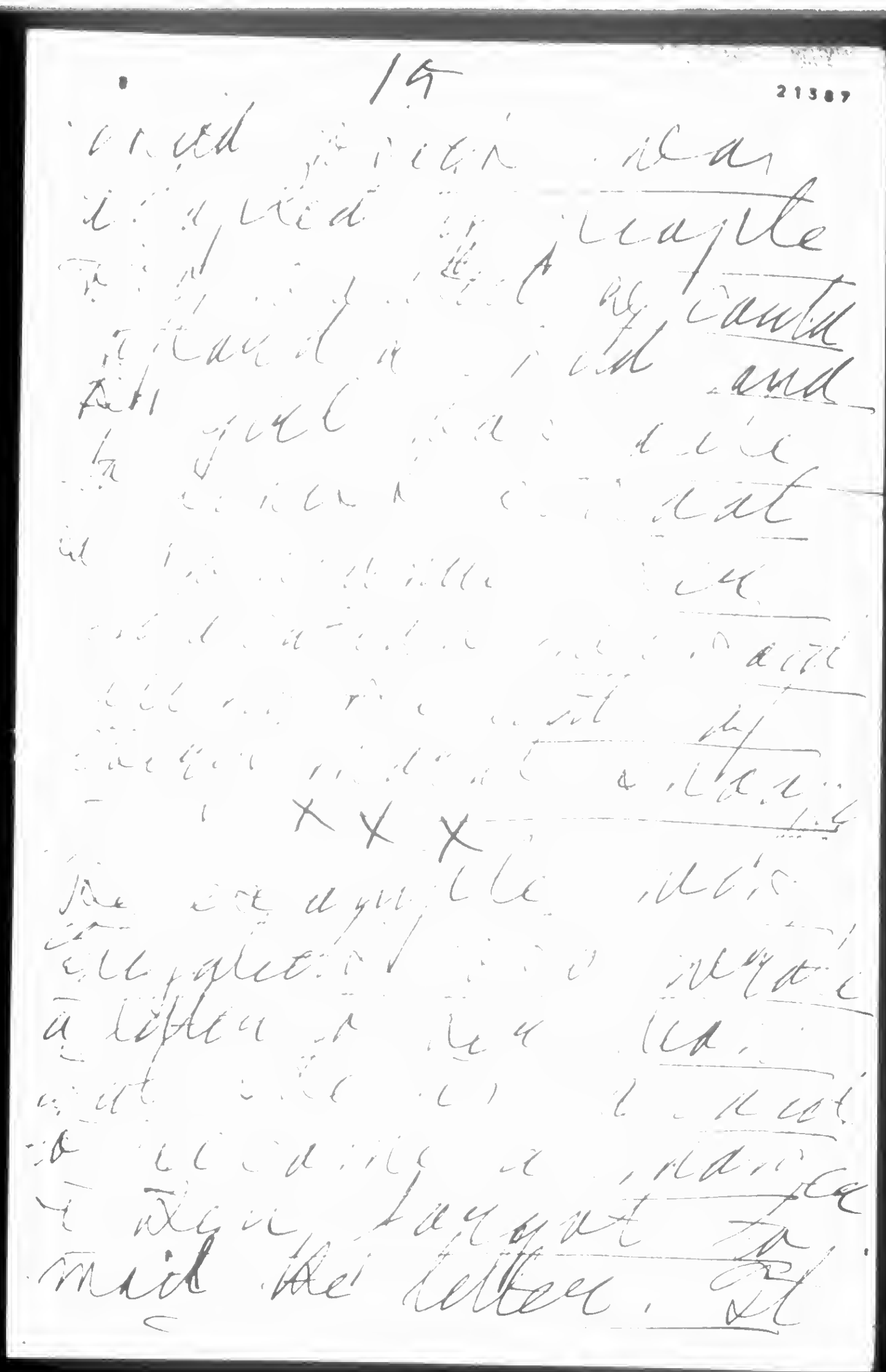

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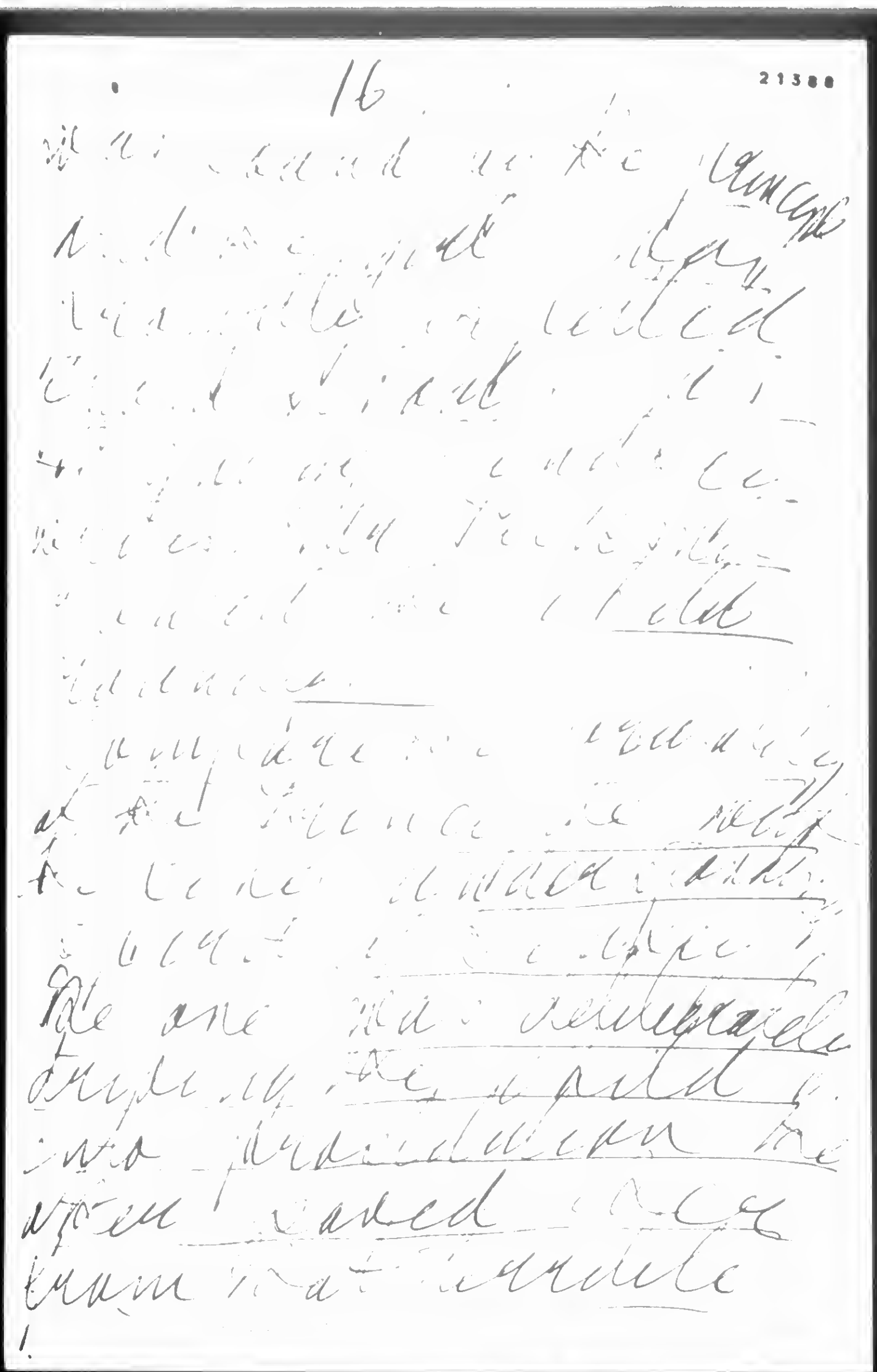

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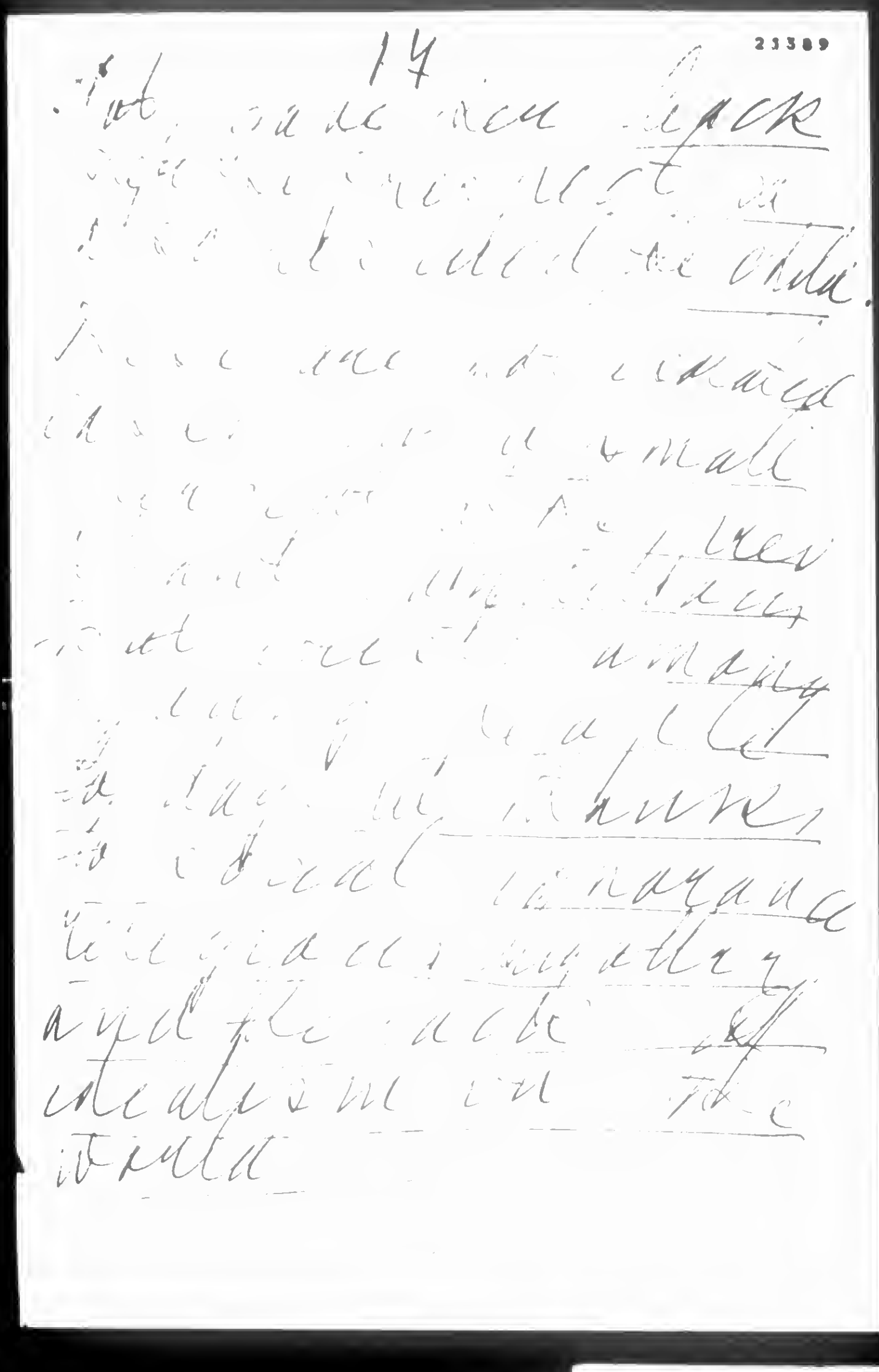

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"It is lamentable that
sex has been
treated as immoral
[illegible] immorality
[illegible] that
[illegible]
man.
[illegible] that
who indulge in all
[illegible] rate
[illegible] which merge
[illegible]
[illegible] because of
their unnatural and
clandestine [illegible]
way. Especially

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because of the lies
and exploiting surrounding
evil.
Here are examples
of the sordid lives
lead in our cities.
Children 4 yrs old
by age 10 have gone
through the stages
of the adult life
that is, adultery
pregnant. The
stress created time
and by some lack
in the home, so we
have all country re
epidemic remedy

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[illegible] came
[illegible] deep
[illegible] lived up
[illegible] girls
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] there
[illegible] many more
[illegible] came
[illegible]
[illegible] the department

The estimable gentleman
of [illegible] who
lamented the carelessness
of parents while

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[Sex Education and Children] / Emma Goldman. – (fragment). – 10 p. ; 25 × 16 cm.

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yearnings of their child, neither hearing nor wishing to hear the loud knocking of the young spirit that demands recognition.

The inclination of parents to mold the personality of the child in the form that they have determined to be the proper one is almost certain to be wrong. The child must be credited with a character and an intellect of his own. And those who undertake to train him have all they can do to find out what that is.

Dr. S. A. White insists "That the failure to develop in an orderly manner what is in the child is one of the most important components of nervousness and mental illness. He further emphasizes that wherever there is a case of a neurotic or delinquent child, the most likely place to find the explanation for it is in the parents." It is futile to change diet or shift the child from school to school. What they should do first is to change their own attitude toward the child. To understand his particular needs is only the first step. The tolerance of acknowledging his separate identity is another. The willingness to grant him a life of his own is the ultimate boon which the parent

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can confer upon him. But how many parents have that rare quality of love which should instill respect for the inner needs of the child? Very few indeed. The majority impose themselves on their children as gods. They take advantage of childish credulity and parent worship to persuade their children that what they approve of is right and what they disapprove of is wrong; they impose a corresponding conduct on the child by a system of prohibitions and penalties, rewards and eulogies, for which they claim divine sanction. As Shaw so truly emphasizes

methods used
Methods used to begin
beat or hamper the
free development of
the child,
Ruthless
Luxyness. Dear
Duty

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vital causes back of laziness.

Dr. Ira Wyle in his brilliant work, "The Challenge of Childhood", tells us that -

"The causes of laziness are to be found in any one of three conditioning factors, or in various subtle combinations of the three. They are: intellectual weakness, emotional instability, and volitional indifference.

"The emotional phases of mental activity are exceedingly varied. Obviously, emotional instabilities, so common in the adolescent period, provide a favorable basis for inactivity. The susceptibility to easily wounded feelings, the sharp reactions against ridicule and unreasonable censure, offer unusual discouragements. The continuance of emotional revolt tends to lessen the shame over the failure to achieve conventional standards. As the child becomes accustomed to rigid criticisms, there is a definite decrease in his self-respect. When children fail to desire and seek the good opinion of others, and when they lose their sensitiveness ~~to its loss~~, a vital emotion is either destroyed or so weakened that its place is taken by one of lower driving power.

"The mere objection to physical labor does not of itself constitute laziness. There are emotional reactions of a continuous character that, far from representing weakness of emotion, result in forms of

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activity not essentially laborious in character. This is well represented in the emotional outpourings of artists, philosophers, dreamers, and musicians, whose early lives not infrequently reflect an indisposition to physical activity. A failure to dwell in the real, though conventional, living world, and a tendency to establish a dream world for self-satisfaction, may result in mental preoccupation. This precludes the ready direction of attention to the formalized work that has been established as of benefit to the community, but it is not necessarily properly adapted to each and every individual. The phantasy may in itself be the cause of an inactivity that leads to the type of behavior so often resulting in the stigmatizing of children as dreamers, dawdlers, putterers, or slackers. In such cases it is the child's emotional state that should be investigated with sympathy, and not the child who should be driven, forced, cajoled, or abused in an attempt to secure his conformity."

Inactivity, sluggishness, or laziness, even when accompanied by apparent good health, cannot be overcome by scolding, sarcasm, verbal abuse, physical punishment or by constant arguments as to the worth of industry. The driven child is more likely to develop a distaste for work than is the child whose inspired or spontaneous interests impel him to activity.

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Dr. Ire Wyle gives some very striking examples of the effect of fear in the child awakened by stupid parents. - Same

Jane.

Jane, a nineteen year old girl of excellent family, was disturbed by the fear of incipient insanity. As she walked along the street she was worried by the thought that she was being watched and that she attracted unusual attention and aroused comment. She complained that on entering a car or a room people began to talk about her. Her state of mind

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approached a psychosis, although it might be classified as an anxiety neurosis. Insomnia, fidgetiness, weeping, lack of concentration, and partial failure of memory were accompaniments of her distress, but all were subordinated to the fear that she was becoming insane.

Stripping off needless details, the causation of this marked pathological trend of Jane's emotional and intellectual life lay in her twelfth year. An alert mother, watching over an only daughter with more care than judgment, thought she had detected the twelve year old girl in the act of masturbating. There was no preliminary investigation, no discussion, no wise counselling. The keynote of her remarks was, "If you do that you will go crazy when you are nineteen years old." The seed of doubt, fear, and self-reproach fell upon fertile soil. Then again, at the age of sixteen years, Jane was really detected in the act by her mother, the identical formula was repeated with an air of sincerity and finality. Then began the period of the subconscious cultivation of fear which lasted until Jane's nineteenth

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birthday. Two months thereafter a prophecy was on its way to fulfillment. The innocent event of the beginning adolescense had been transformed into a potential tragedy in a young woman's life.

Fears are much more easily induced than they are cured. It would seem advisable to apply the method of disuse so far as possible, and prevent children from becoming frightened, especially in the extreme degrees of alarm. Paroxysms of terror are as dangerously potent for the psychic life as are the bacilli of tuberculosis for the physical life.

The paralyzing effect of Duty

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The first study of a child was made by a physiologist, Tiedemann. This was not until 1787.

For nearly a century after Tiedemann the subject lay dormant. At the time that G. Stanley Hall was returning from the psychological laboratory of Kraepelin, Preyer issued "The Mind of the Child." To this day, no better record has been kept of the child's mental development.

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G. Stanley Hall organized and gave vitality to the whole movement for child study. His was the first effort to observe the minds and activities of a group of children. His book, "The Contents of Children's Minds on Entering School", removed from speculation the question of a child's mental equipment at a fixed age. Incidentally, this book stimulated a world movement to collect and arrange such data.

On Child Experience.

The experiences of a child are limited. In comparison, those of the adult are immense. The lessons learned from actual experience must be of benefit to the child by transference. Thus a child who has once conflicted with an unsympathetic teacher may learn to hate all teachers and all schools. Day after day, and hourafter hour, he is forced to endure the humiliation of an abhorrent situation. The adult must be able to comprehend the delicacy of this matter and so,from the store of his own experience, disburden the child's mind of the notion that all teachers and all schools deserve his hatred.

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Element of Play.

If we were to sum up comprehensively, yet briefly, how to understand children's active nature, we would say - watch them at play. Play is, truly, their chief business in life. In its many varied forms we may see revealed the possibilities for the development it affords, the dominant interests at different age levels, some distinctive characteristics of boys and girls, and get the clues as to the needs of childhood.

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A second need of active children is time. This may sound ridiculous when we think of the long "golden days of childhood", so free in retrospect from the pressure of care and the rush of work of which we are now so conscious. Yet the fact remains that the "poor little rich girl", as well as her fellow citizen of the slums, already a victim of child labor, may have no free time in which to play, since she is so constantly supervised, so hurried from study to social engagement.

Obviously, then, in selecting toys one consideration should be what the children can "do with" them. Very often the simpler the toy the richer it will be in possibility of manipulation or imagination, and therefore the more stimulating. It is the joy in activity that is the essence of play, not mere passive admiration of a technical perfection. Better the box of clothespins from which people and log houses can be constructed, than the most accomplished, and therefore finished and expensive limited, mechanical doll.

Another is that of intelligent suggestion of plays

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and occupations that will open up new vistas to the child and prevent his remaining bored on a low level of achievement when he is ready for something further.

With a child who lacks initiative, this method of stimulation is very helpful; and for many groups, wise guidance will provide opportunities for enjoyment and progress which they would be unlikely to discover for themselves. It is in this sense that we te ch of supervise play. Such teaching must fulfil its function of leading and encouraging along the path of adventure, andavoid the fatal mistake of driving and commanding along the track of slavery. For children most emphatically do not want to be "bossed" in their games continually.

The tendency of parents and teachers is to attempt to mold the personality of the child in the form that they think is the right one. This tendency is almost sure to be a wrong one because the personality make-up, that is, the components that go into the making of a personality and their relation, is altogether a too complex affair to warrant anyone in

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attempting the application of any hard and fast rules. The impetus and initiative must come from within the child and it should be the function of parents and teacher alike to attempt to find out what it is that is seeking expression and help the child in the unfolding and development of these tendencies. Ernest Jones has well compared this situation to the similar situation in the case of the poet. The inspiration of the true artist must come from within and any suggestions from outside are of no avail unless, permanence, they happen to coincide with what he feels as a spontaneous impulse of his own. To be told what to do, and how and when to do it, at every step is no fun, since one essential in play is freedom of choice.

Again the adult constantly makes the mistake of supposing that what the child cannot understand will not be attended to and so will create no impression. As a matter of fact the child is exquisitely alert to all that goes on about it and if it does not understand in the adult sense that does not prevent it from coming to its own conclusions

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as to what is meant, and that is just what it does.

This brings me to the greatest offense of parents and teachers, their ignorant, or willful deception of the child in sex enlightenment.

From the earliest questionings of children as to the functions of their own bodies, as to where babies come from, as to animal matings, they may observe, we may give the scientific truth with all the atmosphers of interest in the true and the beautiful. Children get information anyway - it is the parents'privilege to see that they get the right kind in the right way, instead of from questionable sources with a morbid, even obscene emotional coloring. Parental realization of the part that sex plays in life and living is of fundamental importance. Evasice answers, half truths, or lies are far more dangerous than frank statements couched in language suited to the mind of the child. To safeguard the growth of the child's mind there must be a greater recognition of parental responsibility for dealing honestly and truthfully with it in the development of sanely

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established attitudes regarding the problems of sex.

Aboe all parents and teachers must learn to differentiate between sex and morality. They must learn to understand that morality can not be enforced from without. We can force an external obedience; but a genuine character is always the outcome of what the child himself wishes at heart to do and to be. At a very early stage he already shows that he has likes, dislikes, impulses, propensities of his own. In recent years these have received close study; and thanks to the writings of such men as Hall, Barnes, Dewey, Thorndike, Freud, and others, we know that, troublesome as these impulses are, sometimes they are also our best allies. Our cue is to try as far as we can not to antagonize them, but to turn them into fruitful direction.

It must never be forgotten that the child is a living, growing, developing, plastic being. What is done with him in his firstyears will to a great extent mold his future.

And on that depends all progress

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This is what happens to most of us. We are not effectively coerced to learn: We stave off punishment as far as we can by lying and trickery, and guessing and using our wits; and when this does not suffice we scribble impositions, or suffer extra imprisonments - "keeping in" was the phrase in my time - or let a master strike us with a cane and fall back on our pride at being able to bear it physically (he not being allowed to hit us too hard), to outface the dishonor we should have been taught to die rather than endure. "

"..... I can remember only one case in which such a penalty was threatened; and in that case the culprit, a boarder, had kissed a housemaid, or possibly, being a handsome youth, been kissed by her. She did not kiss me; and nobody ever dreamt of expelling me. The truth was a boy meant just so much a year to the institution. That was why he was kept there against his will. That was why he was kept there when his expulsion would have been an unspeakable relief and benefit both to his teachers and himself."

"And now I hear cries of protest all around. First my own schoolmasters, or their ghosts, asking whether I was cruelly beaten at school? No; but then I did not learn anything at school."

"My schooling did me a great deal of harm and no good whatever: it was simply dragging a child's soul through the dirt; but ~~I escaped Ruskin and Creakle just as I escaped Johnson and Carlyle~~. And this is what happens

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Unfortunately school systems are wont to entertain the idea of uniform personality and mental endowment in dealing with the school population. The school should concern itself with the training and education of the instinctive and emotional phases of child life along with its devotion to the cause of intellectual development. Certainly the first step requires an appreciation of the fundamental differences in cerebral endowment.

The ideal of the average pedagogue is not a complete, well-rounded ~~original~~ being; rather does he seek that the result of his art of pedagogy shall be automatons of flesh and blood, to best fit into the treadmill of society and the emptiness and dullness of our lives. Every home, school, college and university stands for dry, cold, utilitarianism, ~~overflooding~~ taxing the brain of the pupil with a tremendous amount of ideas, handed down from generations past. "Facts and data", as they are called constitute a lot of information, well enough perhaps to ~~maintain~~ perpetuate every form of authority, and to create much awe for the importance of possession, but only a great handicap to a true understanding of the human soul

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and its place in the world.

Truths dead and forgotten long ago, conceptions of the world and its people, covered with mould, even during the times of our grandmothers, are being hammered into the heads of our young generation. Eternal change, ~~thousandfold~~ innumerable variations, continual innovation, are the essence of life. Professional pedagogy knows nothing of it, the systems of education are being arranged into files, classified and numbered. They lack the strong, fertile seed which, falling on rich soil, enables them to grow to great heights, they are worn and incapable of awakening spontaneity of character. Instructors and teachers, with dead souls, operate with dead values. Quantity is forced to take the place of quality. The condequences thereof are inevitable.

When the child reaches adolescence, it meets, added to the home and school restrictions, with a vast amount of hard traditions of social morality. The cravings of love and sex are met with absolute ignorance by the majority of parents, who consider it as something indecent and improper,

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How often have we heard, "That crazy teacher, how I hate her!" "That hard-faced teacher, it makes me nervous every day to be in her room. "That sarcastic teacher, you can never do anything to please her!" Imagine a sensitive child being obliged every day to face a situation which is so distasteful. So few realize that the greatest requisite for good teaching is the fine personal influence that can come only through understanding the natural history of the child, and this must include appreciation of the needs and responses of the overly sensitive, the unstable, the psychopathic personality.

children and even more so

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something disgraceful, almost criminal, to be suppressed and fought like some terrible desease. The love and tender feelings in the young ~~plant~~ are turned into vulgarity and coarseness through the stupidity of those surrounding ~~it~~ them, so that everything fine and beautiful is either crushed altogether or hidden in the innermost depths, as a great sin, that dares not face the light.

Fortunately the new approach to the child is gradually doing away with all the antiquated conceptions of education. It lays stress on the child as the primary factor in education and the school as well as educational methods only as secondary factors.

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And now that I have pointed out the harm parents often do to their children it is necessary to turn to the other enemies of child life - teachers, and the system of education. On this subject we must again turn to Bernard Shaw.

"They send their children to school, and there is, on the whole, nothing on earth intended for innocent people so horrible as a school. To begin with, it is prison. But it is in some respects more cruel than prison."

"It is a ghastly business, quite beyond words, this schooling.

Emma Goldman

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So much for the many causes of "laziness".

And now as to the effect of fear. or shame

Fear Appealing to the motive of fear, is one of the most dangerous procedures in the case of a ~~nervous~~ child. and there is no question that many of the patients in hospitals today had the foundation for their insanity laid in school, Not only is that true, but it is also true that we can detect what might be called incipient insanity in many of the children in attendance at the public schools. We do not call it insanity, but psychopathy, instability, or mild mental disturbance.

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Between the selfish tyrant and the kind medler ninety percent of children become marred physically, mentally, and morally. This is now maintained by many authorities on child life that nervousness, backwardness, and delinquency, in a very large number of instances, are traceable to home influences, more particularly to those of the parents. To give only one example:

"In one State (Ohio) the need for accommodations for jevenile delinquents is so great that although the law states that a child committed to the Industrial School must remain until he is 21 years of age, unless earlier reformed, the officials have been obliged to establish a fiction whereby each child is reformed in twelve months. The two institutions, the one for the boys and the other for the girls, are thus regularly emptied every twelve months, in order to make room for the new cases that must be provided for."

3

The average parents use two methods in dealing with

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"In many families it is still the custom to treat childhood frankly as a state of sin, and impudently proclaim the monstrous principle that little children should be seen and not heard, and to enforce a set of prison rules designed solely to make cohabition with children as convenient as possible for adults without the smallest regard for the interests, either remote or immediate of the children. A selfish tyrant you know where to have, and he (or she), at least, does not confuse your affections; but a conscientious and kindly meddler may literally worry you out of your senses."

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However at least the street gamin of the past found some interest in his beggary. The slate picker in American ~~life is dulled by the monotony of his work to a stunted physical and mental development. Statesmen who are made aware of these menacing conditions make slight effort to remedy them. Their public excuse before election day is that any alleviating enactments would be contrary to traditional American constitutional procedure.~~ Be American constitution a ~~[illegible]~~ crime

The economic reasons for the afflictions visited upon children have been looked upon as rather deplorable, but, ~~on the whole~~, a evil necessary. The ~~logic was of the kind that was responsible for the death of the goose that laid the golden eggs. By a curious perversion of thinking, employers considered~~

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punishments for minor offenses were little less severe. [redacted] considered death an adequate punishment and deterrent for talking back to one's parents.

The ancient institution of slavery brought great profits to the masters from the sweat and blood of children. The fairly universal practice of selling children was a secure speculative investment, promising quick returns, to the men who fathered the children. The golden age of the Greeks swayed in perilous balance upon a substratum of slavery. The auction block is not the symbol of negro slavery alone, nor, is it associated altogether with ancient history. Even at present, the child is considered a marketable commodity for exploitation in field, factory, and mine.

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Speaking of the modern slavery of the child

Mr. Shaw is not far from the mark when he tells us that --

"On the whole, whatever our theory or no theory may be, our practice is to treat the child as the property of its immediate physical parents, and to allow them to do what they like with it as far as it will let them. It has no rights and no liberties: in short, its condition is that which adults recognize as the most miserable and dangerous politically possible for themselves: namely, the condition of slavery. For its alleviation we trust to the natural affection of the parties, and to public opinion. A father cannot for his own credit let his son go in rags. Also, in a very large section of the population, parents finally become dependent on their children. Thus there are checks on child slavery which do not exist, or are less powerful, in the case of manual and industrial slavery. Sensationally bad cases fall into two classes, which are really the same class: namely, the children whose parents are excessively addicted to the sensual luxury of petting children, and the children whose parents are excessively addicted to the sensual luxury of physically torturing them."

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More than sixty years ago, Emerson wrote:

"We are students of words; we are shut up in schools a and collegesand recitation rooms for ten or fifteen years, and comeout at last a bag of wind, a memory of words,and do not know a thing." And to-day his criticism continues to hold good in many ways in spite of a number of so-called reforms fo forced upon the school byt the persistent urgings of fervent prophets of the new day both in and out of the profession;

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In theory, these considerations are quite fully and clearly accepted. We hear and read much pedagogic utterance of self-unfoldment, self-activity, self-expression, self-realization, originiality, individuality, initiative, social efficinecy, and the like. These terms cover the growing insight into dawning truths of evolution, and these things, it is claimed, the special and sacred responcibility of education, and, therefore, of the school, to foster and to stimulate.

Yet, in the actual work of the school- and more especially on the public school- progress toward these ideals is slow. Indeed, the very organization and equipment of the current school hadicpas these processes and the development of these qualities which pedagogic theory hold to be essential to success.

In many ways compulsion and restraint still rule supreme. The children are more or less arbitrarily commanded what, when, and how to do. Initiative and origin

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ality, self-expression and individuality are taboo. It is deemed possible and important that all shouldbe interested in the same things, in the same sequence and at the same time. the worship of the idol of informity continues more or less openly. And to make doubly surethat there shall be no heteredox interference, school supervision frequently, dictates every step and even the manner and mode of it, so that disturbing initiative or originality and the rest may not enter by way of the teacher. We still hear overmuch of "order", of "method", of "system", of "discipline", in the death-dealing sense of long ago, and these aim at the repression rather than at the liberation of life with its richand varied spontaneous interests and initiatives, its marvelous epiphanies of beauty and truth ~~and good will.~~

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[Notes on Pedagogy] / Emma Goldman. (fragment) – 10 p. ; 30 × 20 cm.

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22687

The tendency in modern education is wider comprehension of the phenomena of life and th advances towards perfection by means of overcoming restraint.

Quote Ferrer. Reply on Goldman

"All the value of education rest in the respect for the physical, intellectual, and moral will of the child. Just as in science there is not demonstration save by facts so too ~~inxmuxxxxx~~ there is no real education save that which is exempt from all donation, which leaves to the child itself the direction of its efforts and merely confines itself to the seconding of its efforts"

3

"Now there is nothing more difficult than to respect the will of the child because the whole conception of education until this day means imposition, violation, constraint. The real educatior is learnigg that his function really consists in protecting the child from his, the educators ideas and to appeal ~~thax~~ to the childs own energies.

Ferrer,

"We want men capable of evolving without stopping, capable of destroying and renewing their envirnments without cessation, of renewing themselves also, men whose intelectual independence will be their greatest force, happy in the triumph of new ideas, aspring to live multiple lives in one life"

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22688

~~a new approach to the child~~. Some advance has [illegible] made in that direction, but the most successful are the numerous schools in N. Y and other large cit[illegible] which have entirely broken with the old pred gested routine and who are bringing about a rapport between teachers and children which alone [illegible] [illegible] of education.

The Some of the most interesting [illegible] discovered in a country [illegible] that is Germany. Hamburg has twelve such schools, Leipzig, Stuttgart Frankfurt, Bremen, Thuringen and the Harz have a whole chain of experimental schools.

Now what is the basis of these ventures "It is not the traditional methods of dead routine which the classroom will prepare the child for its place and work in society but life itself, life with its varied, pulsating events and interests"

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22658 A

The supreme mission of the teacher is to leanr to understand the nature of the child, to win and hold its confidence, and never to lose faith in its inner goodness. Not external power but confidence and love now determine the attitude of the child to the teacher and the latter's influence on the child

The example with the lesson on Geography, Africa was to be discussed. The child with the news of an earthquake in Chili.

Where the breath of life permitted to enter the classroom one event folows another interst carrys the children from England to Africa, from Germany to India, and even a jump to the moon may be ~~exhausted~~

Classroom work while not abolished is yet not the grinding mill. It becomes the laboratory for the impressions and experiences gathered by the children in their contact with life. Trips through forest, fie

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22689

seasons mountains and valleys. One weeks tramp more of geography, geology and natural science than months of classroom confinement. First impulse to reading and writing awakened in that way. The out of door life developes healthy bodies and no amount of self-reliance the very basis of independence of spirit. Cultivates the power of absorbtion and orientation and increases the eagerness of the children to learn more of the rudiments picked up on their tours.

The journeys into nature are followed up by journeys to museums factories stores/warehouses, railway yards and other places here the wealth of society is being produced. Here the children begin to realize the function of labour the element of mutual aid and help fuoness upon which all human effort is based and without which our social evils threaten the very fabric of social life much more than the extremest revolutionist.

The spirit of cooperation and solidarity is fostered in the modern school from the lowest grades.

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This creates a comradeship and sympathy unknown in the old schools. For the the schools feed hundreds of the poorer children, the greatest part of the food contributed by the more fortunate children and their parents.

Example of cooperation as superior to individual ownership, the plot of land.

Example against punishment. Of order as against the rod.

The change of the condition in the class room.

The observation of an instructor.

Inventive child rich in new ideas but usually unable to elobrate them.

Auoptive avail themselves of new ideas and applied them with great care, the immitators who appreciate the successful efforts of others, simplyfy and reduce them to generalizations. they are the numerous bearers of traditions. Then the unlookers who some day awaken and join the third class.

Varianters concentrate on diversity of forms, no

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X 10

22691

No house at the feudal market place like the other, no workers is dressed alike.

The decorators on color and ornamentations, imitators constantly repeat themselves, the sober the prosaic who content themselves with sober presentations of essentials

Play and dance in modern schools, drama theatre an important part.

Modern education wants the child to leave school not satiated bu imbued with the yearning to add to his knowledge by independent pursuits.

~~Rollins~~

Romain Rolland

Michael Angelo

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But there is much ~~more~~ to assure conviction ictorious progress. Theory, the child of thought set free by experience, has ever led practice, and practice has ever been slow to follow the new light of theory. Culture, so long confined to certain barren conventionalities of intellect and taste, is adding unto itself the outward and

inward look, the objective research of world and self, the thirst for benifiant social introordination and efficiancy. It is steadily reaching the conviction that wordand thought and power gain true being and permanence only in the deed, that man truly is only in what he does or effectively urges us to do.

Psychology ~~so long~~ Learned the captive of adult mentality in individual isolation, has found the child, its body, its hands, its social needs, and even racial origin and destiny of man. Clear-sighted and devoted teachers, even in humbliest position, are assesting and defending with rare patience and courage the rights of childhood, frequently against heavy odds of official opportunism, commercial greed, and stupid conser vatism.

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Steadily and surely the child is conquering and attaining leadership in the work of self-unfoldment into life of free,effective,full,and joyous humantiy.

The mere instructionist,blinded by his paltrysepcialty to the full life it is meant to serve;the narrow-mindedpedant and worshipper of uniformity;the small-souled reactionary who cries "for more spelling and arithmeticand less life" the self-sufficinet "apostle of consolation"who in his worship of what has been fails to see what is and whatought to be;the stupid adherent of a decayingerudition who makes war upon the fresh vigor that is sprouting from its soil-all these are sinking into their doom.

The new day dawning,when the school will serve life in all its phaser and reverently lift each human childto t its appropreate place in a common life of benificinet social efficiency whose motto will be: Freedom,goodwill,and joy for each and all"

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MODERN TENDENCIES IN EDUCATION.

Nothing so proves the snail like movement of progress as Education. More than a Century ago Pestolezzi attempted to infuse new meaning into the conception of education. Since then many great pedagogues and humanitarians have taken up Pestalozzies ideas and added many of their own that should have revolutionies the antequated notion of education. Among the formost figures were Leo Tolstoy and Fracisco Ferrer. Yet Education as a social factor is still in a rut.

In point of fact the general attitude towards the child whether that of parants or most teachers is not unlike that of keepra to prison inmates. For just as it is the function of prison keppers to break the will of the unfortunates put in their charge, and degrade the personality of the

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latter, to a mere noneentity. So too, parants and teachers believe that children should be seen and not heard. In other words their will must be bent and their voices silenced .No wonder that bulk of humanity grows up so inarticulate,so lacking in self direction ,so baran of ideas or the will to carry out anything in dependently.

Not at all far fetched when I say that parants and teachers are the worst enemies of the child and the least equipt to educate. Of course, they are so, unconsciously. That however does not change the fact that most homes and nearly all schools are far from helping the growth and developement of the young, are really straight jackets on the spirit and souls of children.

Parants see in their children their property to do with what they will.

Parants and educators start from the premise that they know best how to mould the life of the young. This is one of the many suprestitions that

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that stand in the way of the general acceptance of modern tendencies of education. I will come to them later. Here I only wish to point out that in the light of modern spychology it is the hight of ignorance to coerce the child into any kind of mould. We know now that every child is a whole world in itsef. ~~And that is not~~ ~~[illegible] one measurement of that world, or one~~ There is no such thing as one method of approach to that world, or one criterion of how that world should be directed.

I do not mean to condemn parants and teachers for their offenses against the spirit of education. They themsleves have been brought up in the old idea that education is a makeshift be be gotten through with withing a certain period of years, and that it consists to a large extent of mere text book knowledge, to be drilled in in certain institutions set aside by the state for the prupose of fitting the young generation to follow in the footsteps of the old. ~~The [illegible] of parents~~

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Is not the dream of most parents to mould their off-spring in their own image. No one learns from the experience of another. According to the Bibilical idea of creation God had made man in His own image. ~~Mmxhmxxthmxhimxmx~~. Verily His handicraft has turned out to be anything but a ma masterpiece. ~~Yetxmmxcontinuesxthexsamexhiumanx~~ Of course it is not God who has made man. It is the latter who has created his gods. Hence his human frailties and short comings.

Parents simply will not learn that the young far from being like them should be helped to outstrip their makers. For in that alone lies progress ~~is seen and made possiba~~

On the other hand teachers continue in the error that education is a means to a livelyhood and not the most im portant creative art ~~unixxgivenxonlyxtax~~ that requires genis to ~~bring~~ give it life.

Every years thousands of teachers are turned out from their training school, themselves still of tender age without any conception of the living material they will have to handle. They are forced to preside ~~over over~~

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in overcrowded classes, of a complex human mass. What else can they achieve but routine, drill and uniformity? The state, the church, and our industrial system expects nothing else but the mechanisation of the young. The bulk of the teaching profession do their duty. That is what they are paid for.

The evils of such education had long been recognized by truly great educators. Thus Goethe said "Inscrile over every Hall of learning the moto Prodigested food is administred here". And Emerson insisted that one goes to school for a certain period of one learning little, coming out a bag of wind, and needing the rest of ones life to unlearn the little acquired during one's so called education.

Ellen Key the late Sedish Pedagogue saw in our time the Century of the Child. True it is no longer sacrifced on masse to the ravenous appetites of idols. Neither is it forced into the textile mills of England, or the cotton plantation of the South of

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Modern Tendencies in education as a process of bringing out rather than coercing in. Bringing out the latant qualities and tendencies of the child is merely the first step towards real education. The second is the respect for the personality of the child. Thirdly The need of keeping alive the curisoity of the child, ~~the~~ These ~~in~~ modern tendencies in education presuppose a new type of ~~teachers~~ educators, a type that has the gift to come close to the ~~spirit~~ soul of the child, ~~that~~ ~~confidence~~ that can establish confidence and conradship with the child. ~~In short a type~~ In short a type that will grow with the child.

More modern still in his conception of education is Professor Wylie in his Epoch making work The Challenge of the Child. ~~Max~~ According to him education has failed so far because of the three facbors that have marred the life of the child, hence also of man.

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Durty and its ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ enslaving effect
fear, and its devestating influence.
Laxyness, and its paralizing tendecy.

The modern school not longer a place where parants deposit their children in order to get rid of them and teachers grind them to get through with the days work. The modern school is a community centre for children, their parants and teachers, a play ground and not a priosn.

The class room not a ~~xxxxxxx~~ torture chamber ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ but the a work room for ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ cooperated effort.

Not text books but ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ nature and the intricate web of social life the real material to draw from.

Reading and writing by means of travel
Arithmetic by means of singing and dancing

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21335

Reading and Writing through travel

Arithmetics through the theatre, siging and dancing.

Georgraphy through world events and the Film

~~xSocial kinship,~~

Social Kinship through the understanding of ~~labor~~ labor as the basis of ~~xxfxx~~ welbeing

The understanding of the value of labor for social and individual welbeing and order. And not ~~arbitrary law, nor the machinary of government, punishment~~ special preveleges, the machinary of governemtn, or punishement'

Conclusion.

The child of to day the adult of tomorrow. The greater larger the freedom of education of the child the freer and self relaant will mand and woman be. The future belong to youth. Unless Let us contribute our share to enhence the vision of child a beautiful future ~~of the child to xxxxx bring it in close raport with the dreams and aspirations~~

66

Social Reasons for Crime and the Penal System

860717002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Penal System] / Emma Goldman. – (fragment). – 46 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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59/12

read about passages from the Bible

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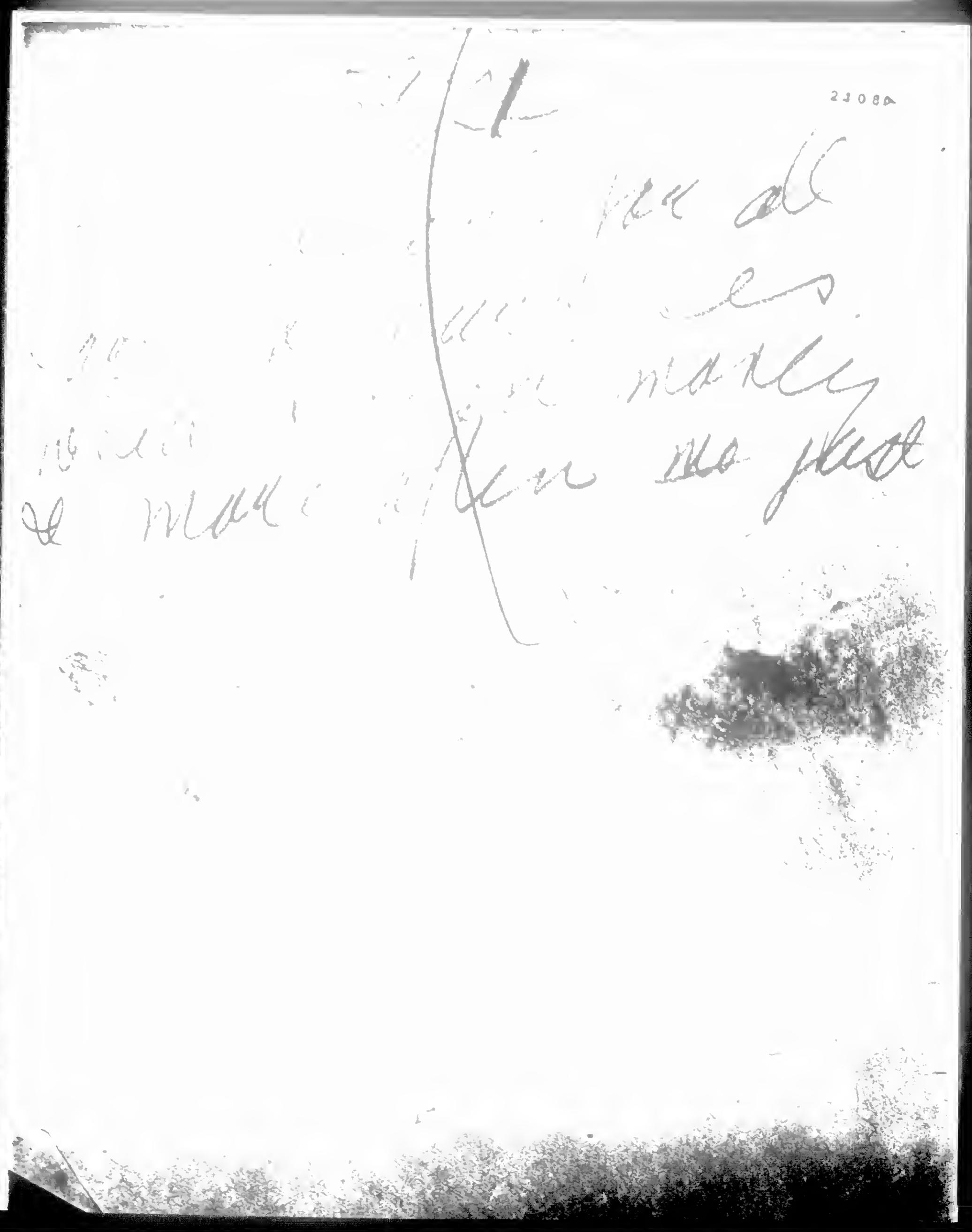

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59035

21080

Pain again I reasoned
that Mollie himself had
become regardless toward
the end of his pitiful
~~Hungry~~ three ~~torture~~
years of roaming and
forced to deny his
identity, always under
terrible strain of
possible discovery
and more than anyth
else driving him
his yearning for
friends and relatives

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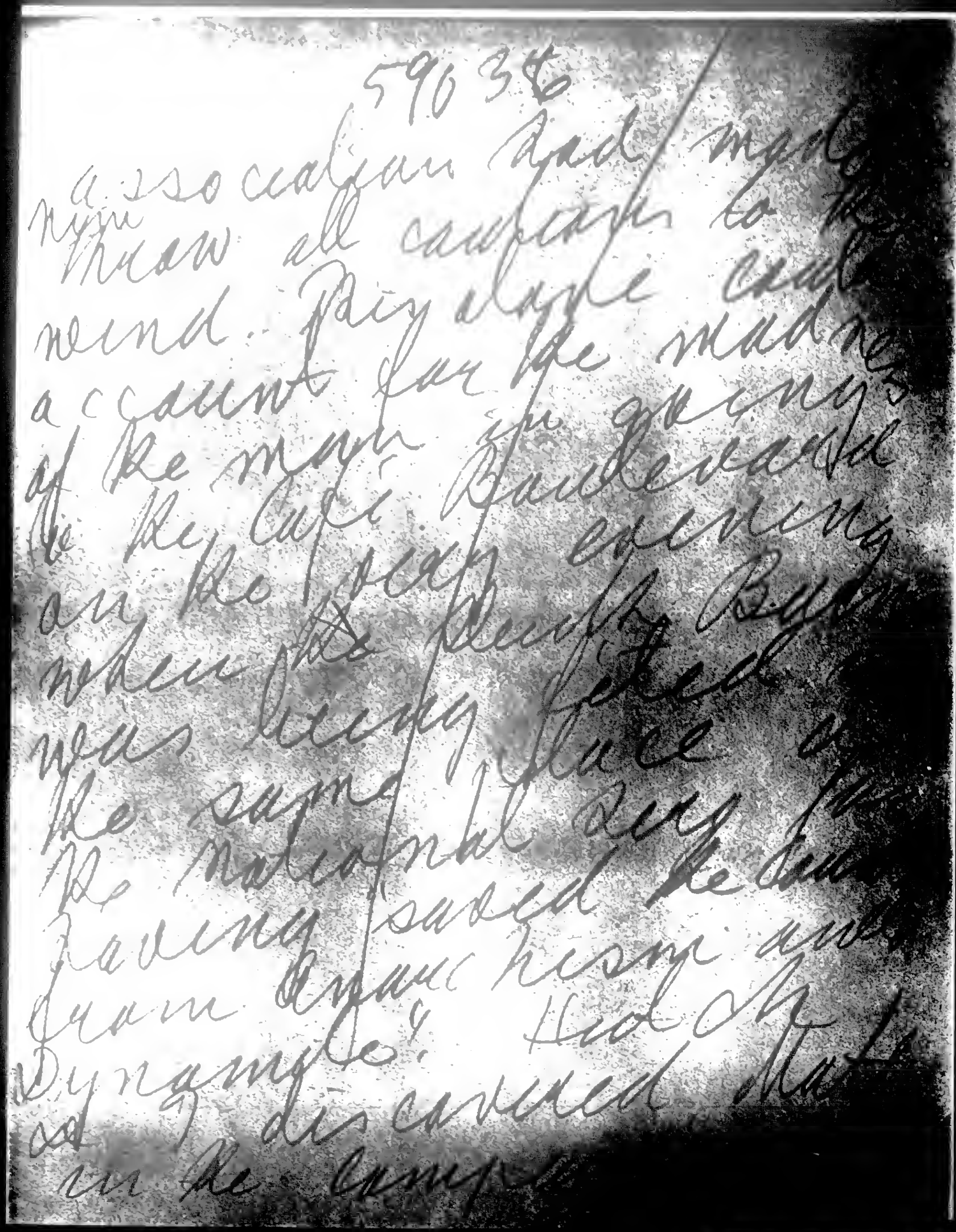

596 38

a.so called man made
Thaw all campaign to the
weind. Pay dayle and
account for the madness
of the mayor. Bundesvaede
to be cut. Bundesvaede
on the [illegible] editing
when the [illegible] Bun
nous living [illegible]
the sugar [illegible]
the national [illegible]
having sued the [illegible]
from [illegible] hear you
Dynamite. Had [illegible]
and disconnected. Ma
on the [illegible]

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590.37

Big Bill Haywood
locked away in a
cell while the man
in charge phone after
him was standing
upstairs.
Let's get away
from here I could be
a block before he
unlocked his cell door
or comes to our table
He is mazed enough
to do such an insane
thing. Everyone of the
detectives around here

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59034

2108A

to my it remains me.
~~and they would at once~~
If I call comes life
is quickly to walk
my at why the again,
of gone of these legs.

[illegible]

[illegible] I saw [illegible]
friend again I said
you nursing mamma
~~and~~ couldn't you have
selected any other place
a dive in the Cafe
Boulevard. Again the one
of Bunin's lampoons

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59039

2108a

"Jean, if you refuse to stuff yourself to get your respectability and delicacies, you will live on the coarse food of the Boulevard Bill. Now, as I have given you and Lee a share of the regular City Jail, will be the cause ruin mental, rally

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59049

2108

He governed all
his life and cared
for no rule or law
do you believe that
and no God Heaven
is greater
you always have
had only base
freedom who dare
be brave to use
it & be willing to live
I did, I have
been through the freedom

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59012

2 of 8

My superior intelligence
Keep a watchful eye on
unruly inmates. Really
they know for why
they are locked up.
Being more in
the majority often foolishness
is so self possessed
~~my I cannot assume~~
~~why punishment~~ I resented
and ~~punishment~~ they
could do to quail
my heart. I learned of
today my sentence. It
seemed punishment
alone clear!

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59041

recent experiences of the
exceedingly long time of 3 years
I have been freedom
of discussing humble,
the very purpose of
my existence. Regardless
hours after my
release he his friends
are celebrating
the 3 years of
this great day. But
they only pay
in two stupid days

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5,194

21080

and now in imprisonment
during treatment days
and we will never
again

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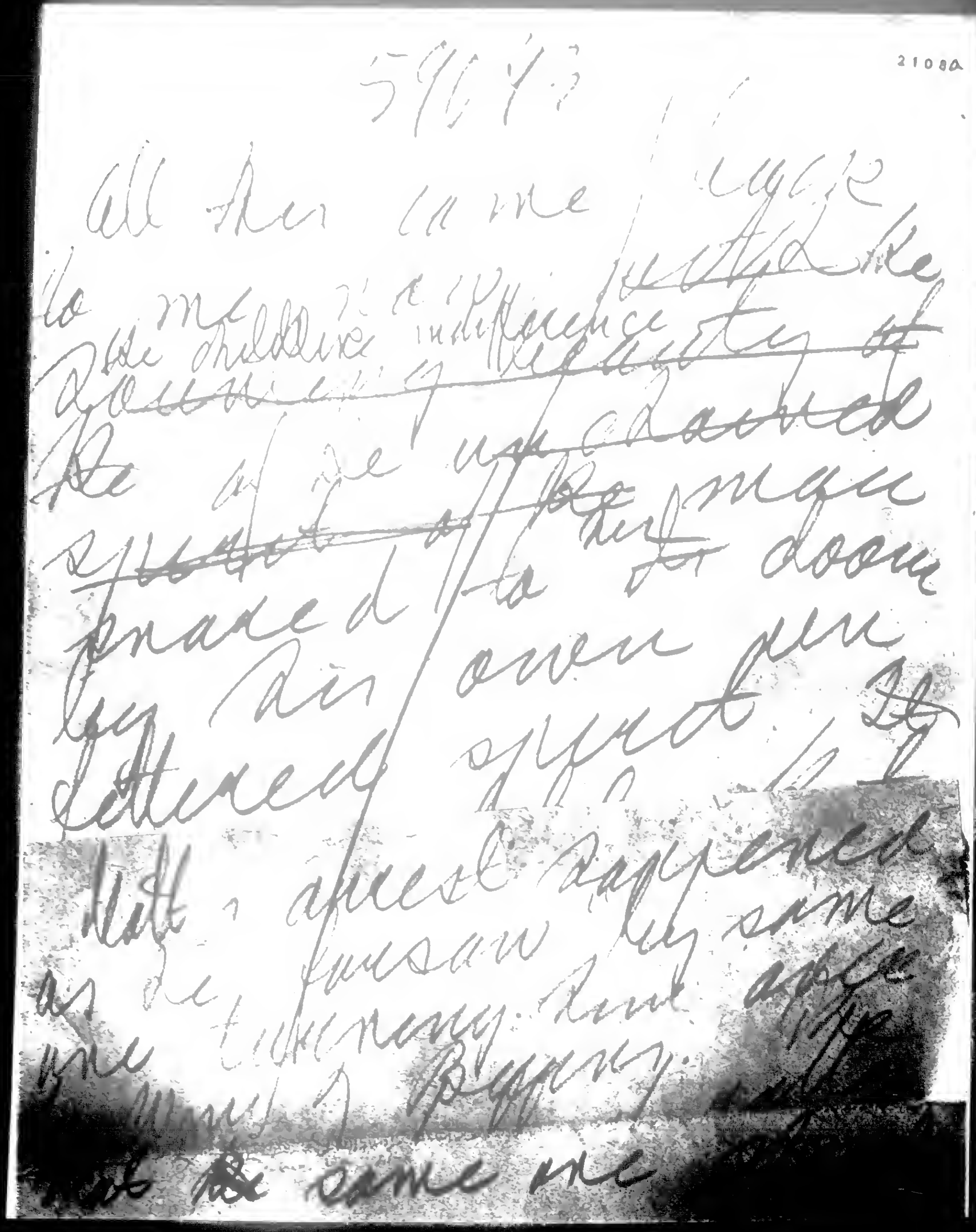

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21080

59

94

Ne again
a man of
his and
not only
insulted
keep the
business quiet
ken.

called to Easly
are and off
face. They
begged him
had to must
not be prevented
quiet until

С ч 1 ученик-
фин 3 ученик — пло
чосчитает а 1 пуба
ку не Russes in Re

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2108

59045

(continued from the
they were judged
guilty – judgment passed
death or life imprison-
ment – Under
imprisonment the
result of the long
who had spent years
been deprived of
gain their liberty, and
to their trust and
and they said "
on cold blood.

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59052

under Bang over
at mark. now – as
the 6 Jan. Stop the
office – Address and
the fund collecting agent
of Mr. Lee – the Gnu
Anniversary of the
magazine. A special
supplement will also
issue with various
letters from various
[illegible]

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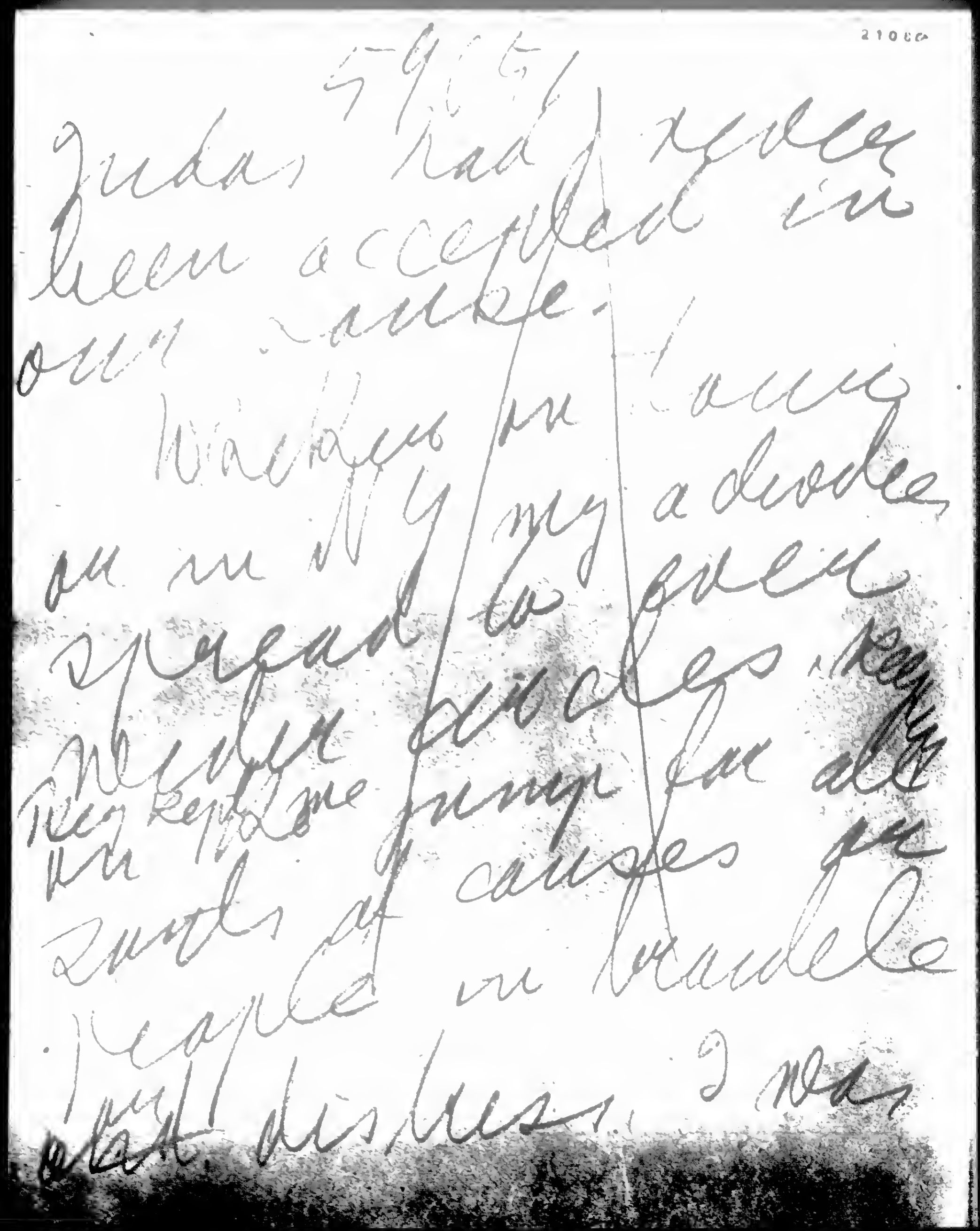

21000

Judas had been accepted in our name.

Wherever law and order spread its evil influence, there the people must pay for all the results of causes for which they have no responsibility, no

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21080

590 /

An ultra fanatical idealist
~~to decent~~ was my
dread that all cages
in the City jail may

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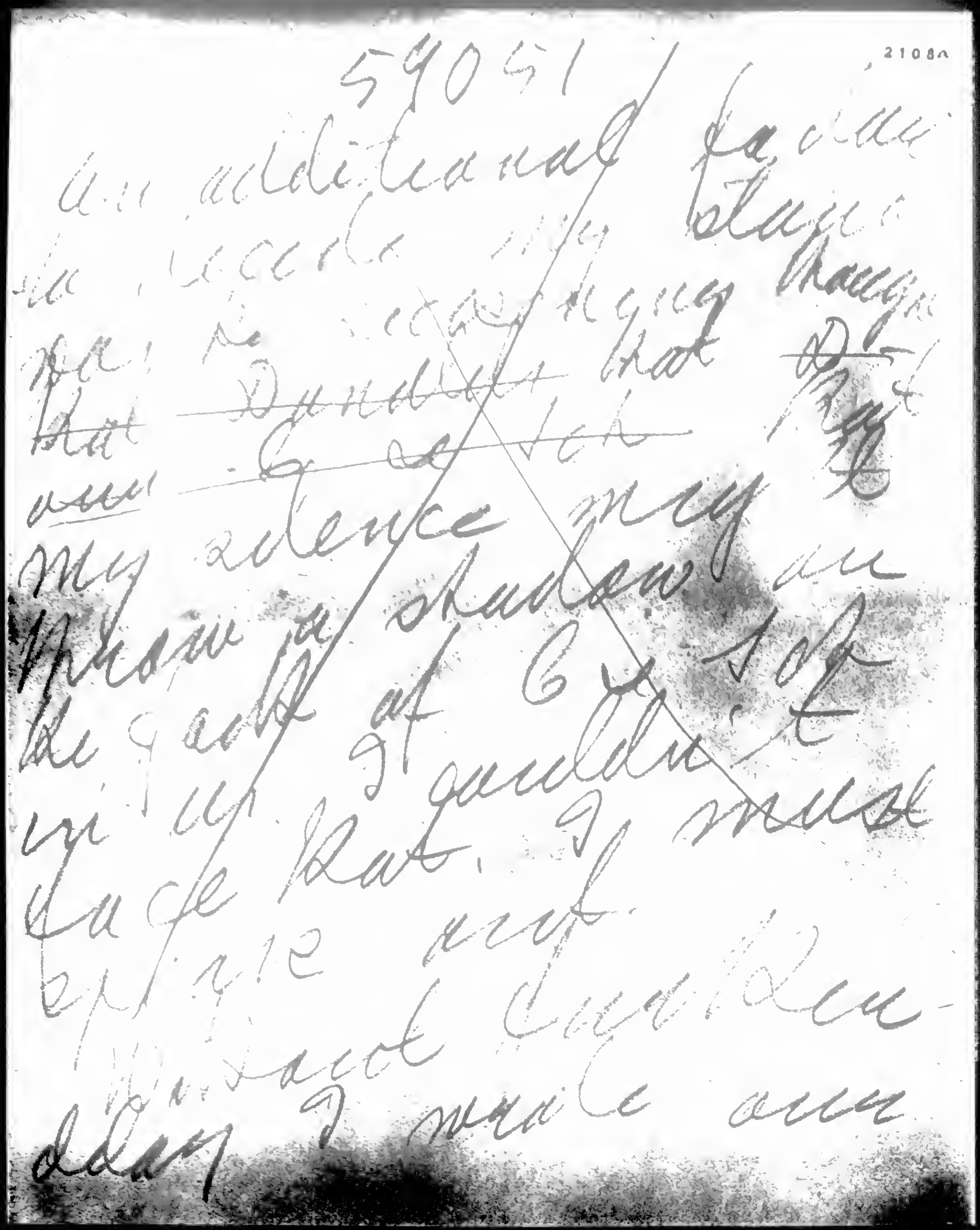

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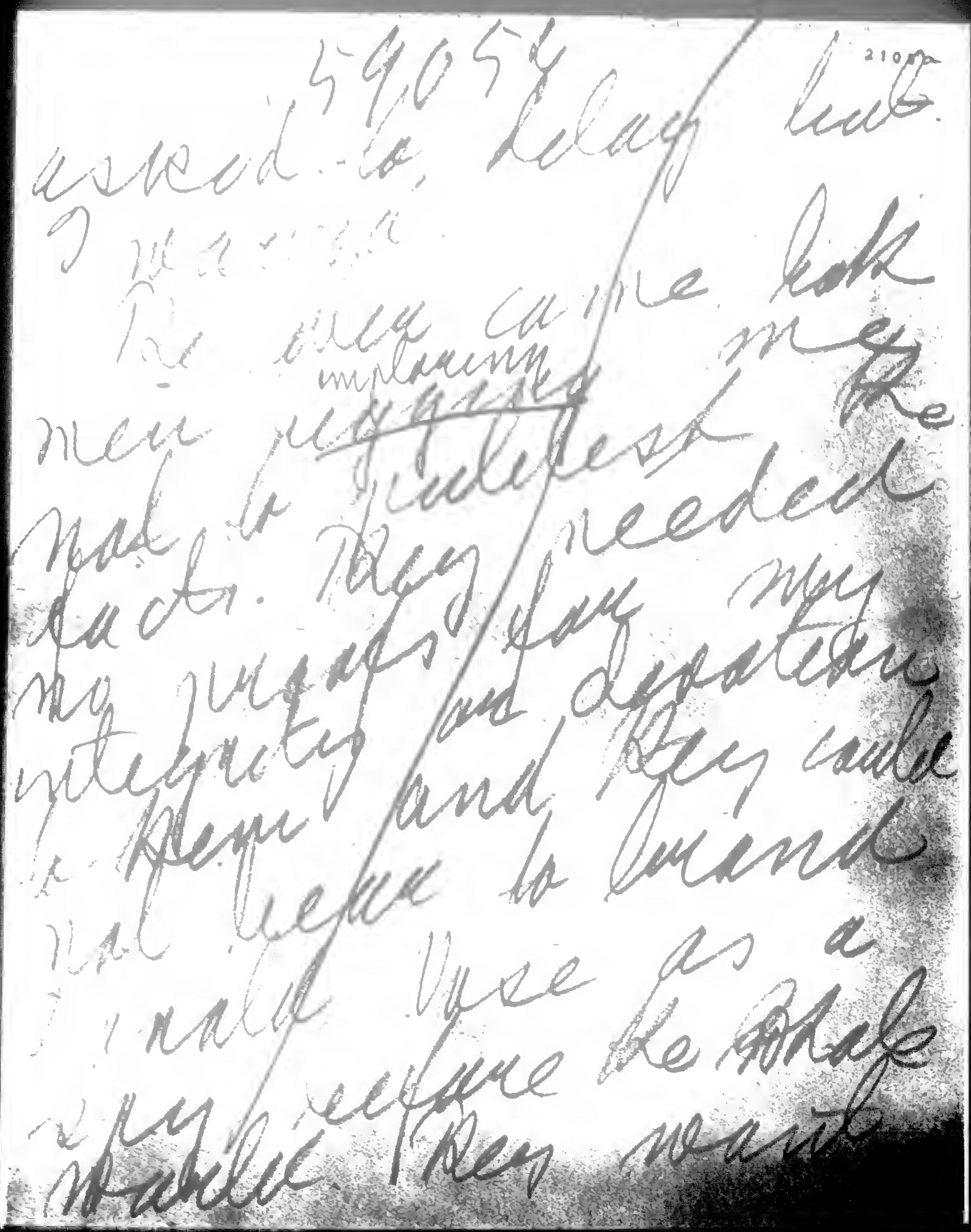

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5/8/55

21080

The de[illegible] until
[illegible] young
[illegible] in any [illegible] [illegible] fellow
[illegible] and he will have
to testify. If [illegible] give
his whole [illegible] page and
these [illegible] full volume
separated for the [illegible]
[illegible] in fact they [illegible]
do not want to
[illegible] ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible] that~~ me
~~[illegible]~~ [illegible] of the
[illegible] the [illegible]

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59655

21 0

in the Penal System
Reformatory Prison
~~Prison~~ Prison
Prison and it is
too horrible to
be called a humane
or a Christian Prison
Captain Schmedt
the chief men
in 3 years — now
proclaimed as murder
by the press of the

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59057 21000

[illegible] time they were
[illegible] [illegible] penury
~~possible~~ like Tony
imprisonment and
perhaps even death
~~[illegible]~~ Pleading in
behalf of the boys who
had stolen and
been found – had
gained their [illegible]
[illegible] and their
trust and had

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59658 2100a

Ken so ~~[illegible]~~ ind
Ken in all Head.
Was a magnificent
gesture. What
humanity & strength
In the light of
such offering guilt
Dundels treachery
appeared, doubly
heinous. He recall
to mind remem

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59354

2108a

[illegible] crime made
[illegible] et
my hands were
tied. I ~~formerly could~~
It was impossible
to act gay [illegible] to
the [illegible] ^of our friends^ af the wo[illegible]
we be [illegible] ~~[illegible] men much~~
wan[illegible]
~~more [illegible] and~~
~~[illegible] hand I~~
I was [illegible] forced
to wait

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59/62

I could count on the cooperation of the prisoners and, perhaps, ~~[illegible]~~ to do [illegible] some of my illegal [illegible]. Besides, no doubt the warden would question that [illegible] letting [illegible] never [illegible]

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2108a

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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2108a

60021

[illegible]

already has been
[illegible] in the previous
[illegible]
[illegible] must be
[illegible]
[illegible]

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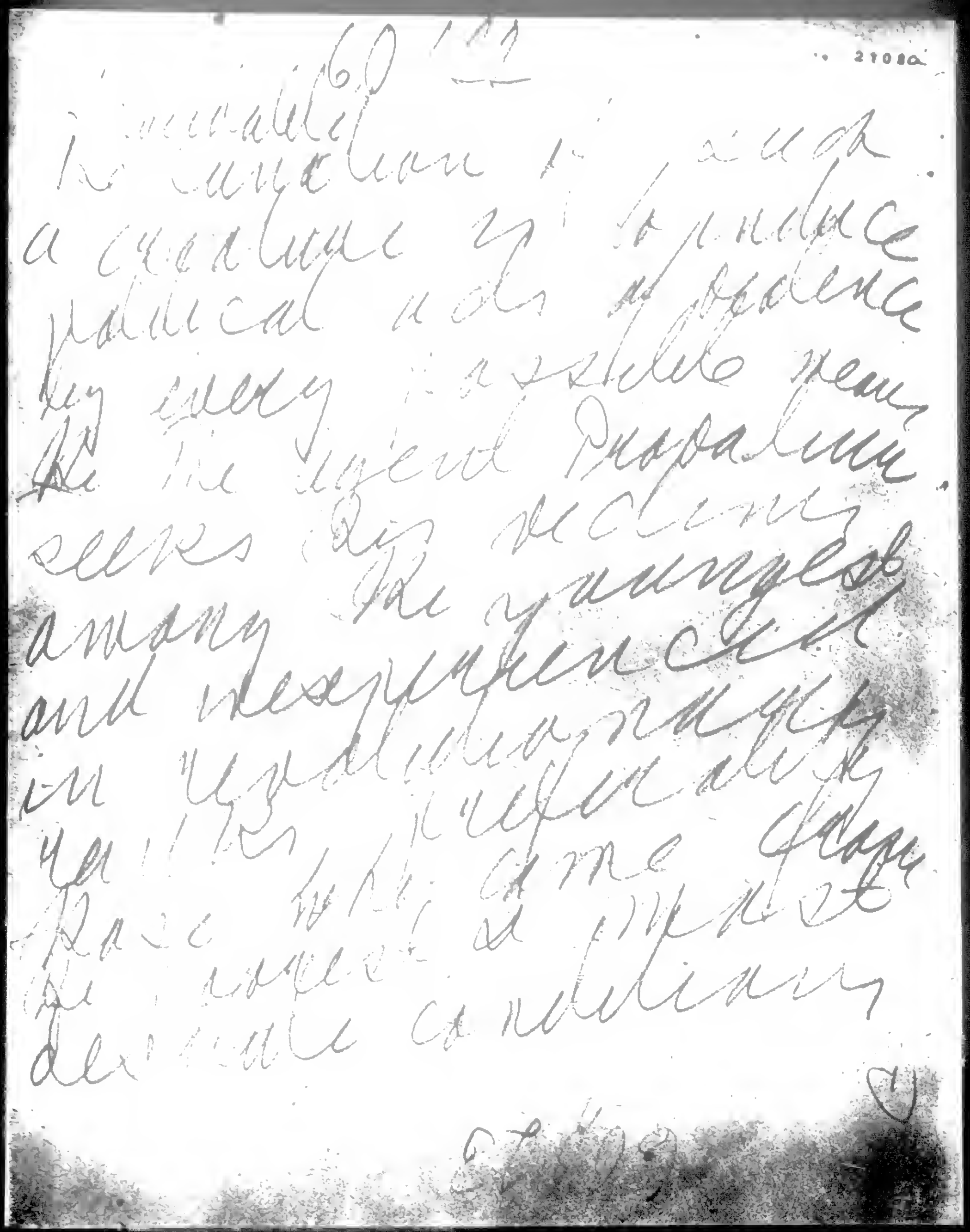

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60823

21080

One of young Italian
~~[illegible]~~ by the name
of ~~Paoli~~ Pallegranni
~~Accidently insanely~~ he must
had was the most
insolent provocative
who [illegible] spend in [illegible]
cells for nearly
a year. He is of the Dark
also Italians - dreamy
[illegible] human [illegible]
[illegible] coming [illegible] one of
a [illegible] of the
~~most~~ appalling rapidity.

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2108a

60 13

which consists in
inflicting punishment
upon the offender by
the Agent proceeding
moves in regard to
grades proclaims loudly
that any

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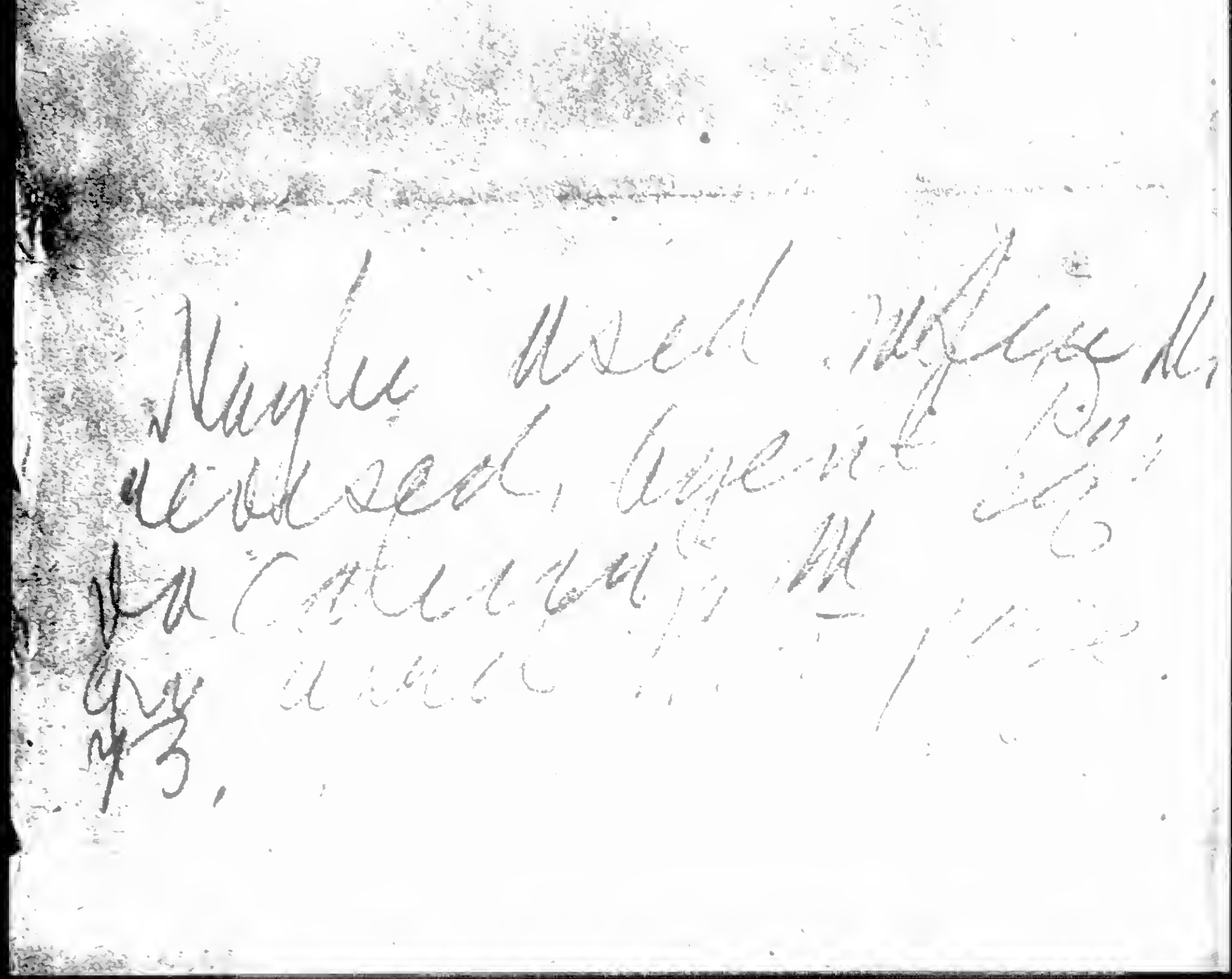

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6009H

21008

At the Congress of Religious Philosophers at San Francisco

~~I shall be officially~~

~~where in~~

~~I will be~~ new measures

~~shall be~~ made against

shock by the peaceful

of Donald Rose

Marx, and passed

Bruce Rat exile

Without trial after

still young is ~~offence~~

by my two friends

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60172

2108a

not to marry Roman
but acquiesce to my
wish & decep. I prefer
to be jail my 2 years separation

I renew the plea of the
members of municipal the
will resp. engendered
you ends. I tremble
lest our kids may suffer

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2108A

robbery but we had
to perhaps seem as
fault because we
had offered young
Vase. The minutes
in the passage
Some in Mary Dwyer
the days ~~[illegible]~~
But lifted the card
and dispelled my
fears. ~~The left Neath~~
~~In a moment they assumed~~

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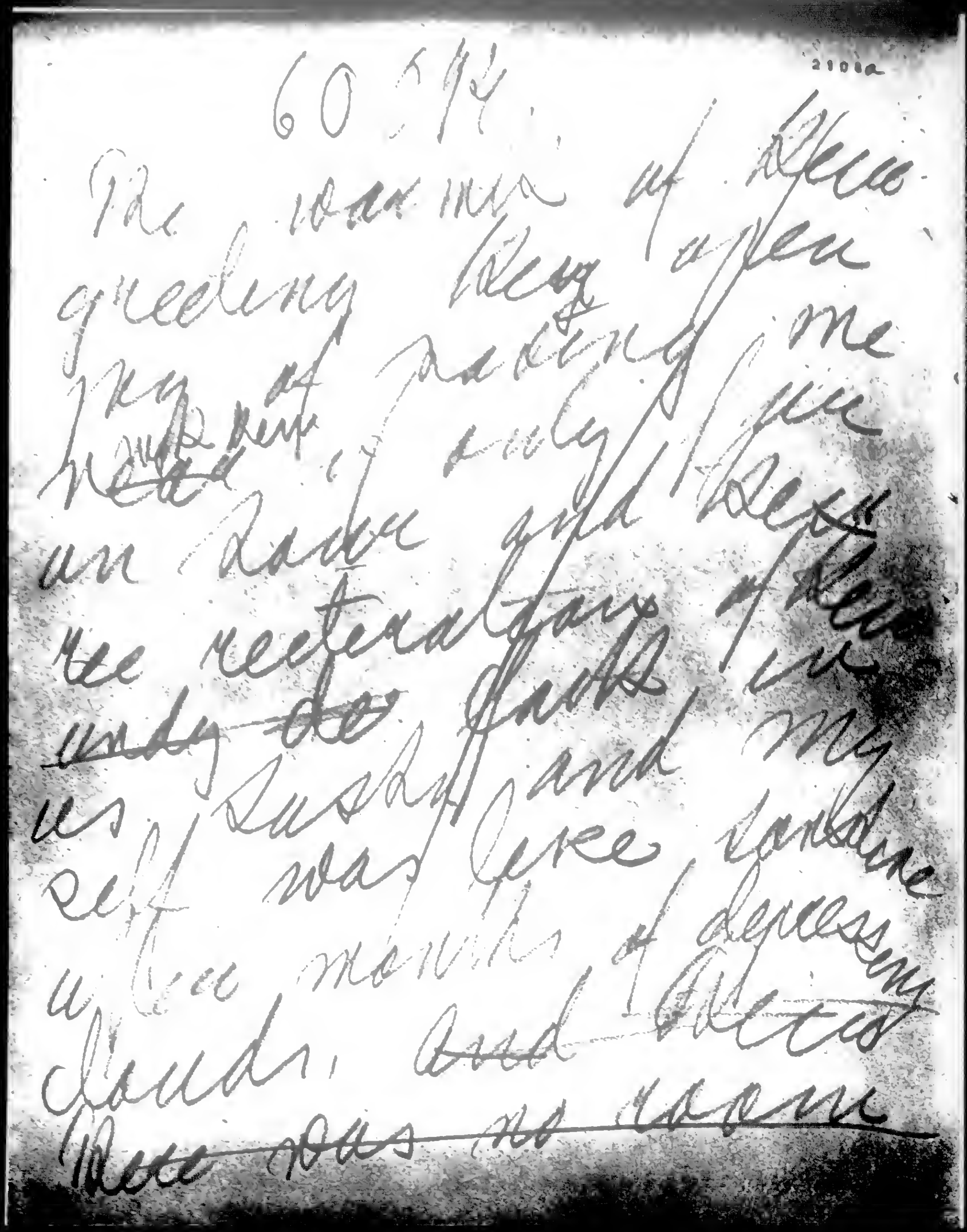

60 14

21062

The condition of these
overcrowded places, open
sewers, rats, and
[illegible] are
the real factors of these
[illegible] suicides, insanity
self-[illegible] and
[illegible] years, months of depression
and doubts, and [illegible]
[illegible]

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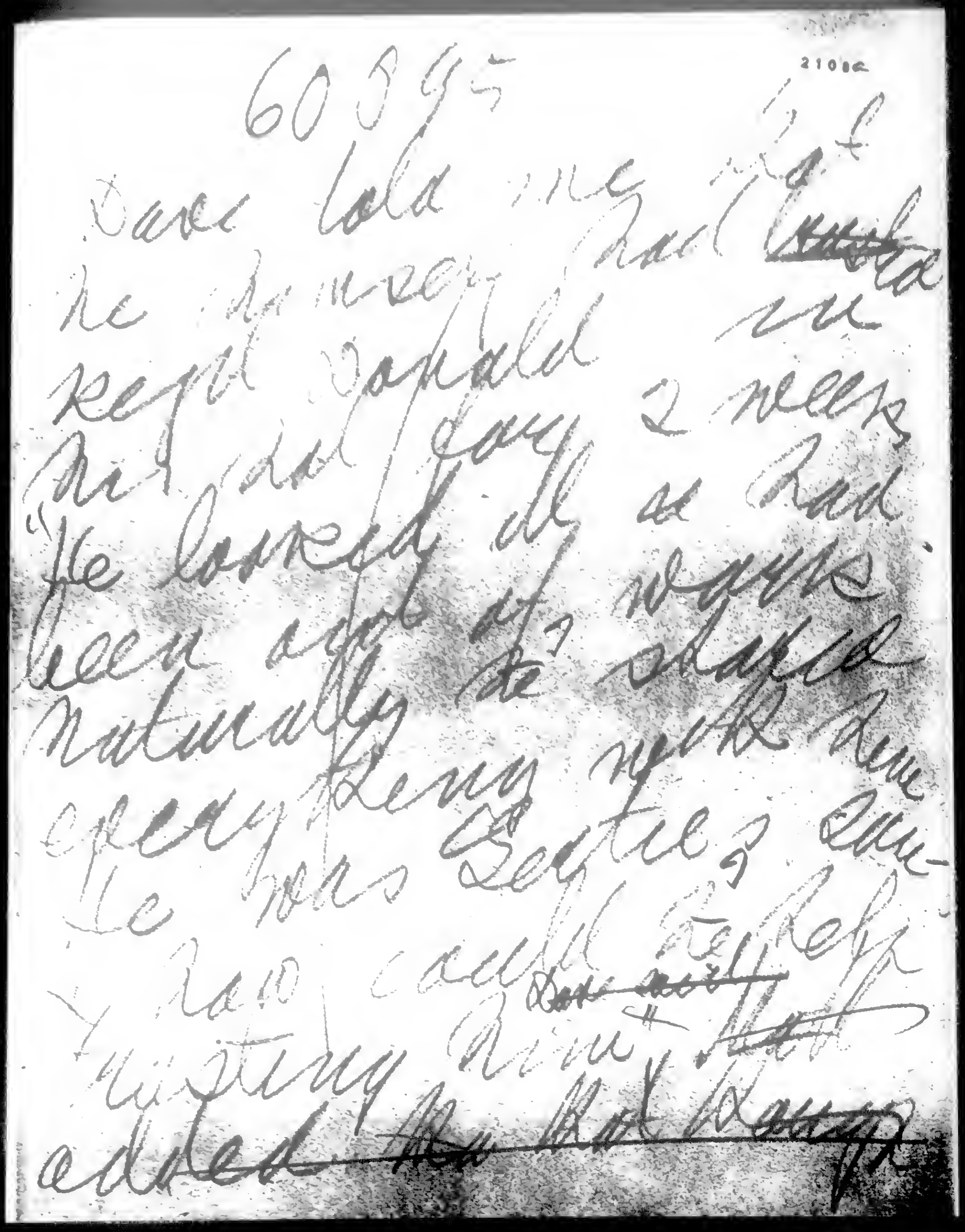

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60 Cents
Prey unknown child

21080

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60 5/6

210

Too. Could anyone
remember Sophie Zi
bust for long? Dare
urgent ~~[illegible]~~ to
~~[illegible]~~ they
that not the same
all possible of danger
would deep 55 of danger
would be get a medal
in this just
in the free
of my [illegible]

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6096

21080

The [illegible] to [illegible] more
the [illegible] the [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
the [illegible] on the [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
much as [illegible]
[illegible]

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60

I never knew our
blood could release a
I did not know I was
in the grip of the
unusual. Wonderful
creatures these two
and so strange so
brave so much
alive, their fleur
so good, free. If
only we could be worth life

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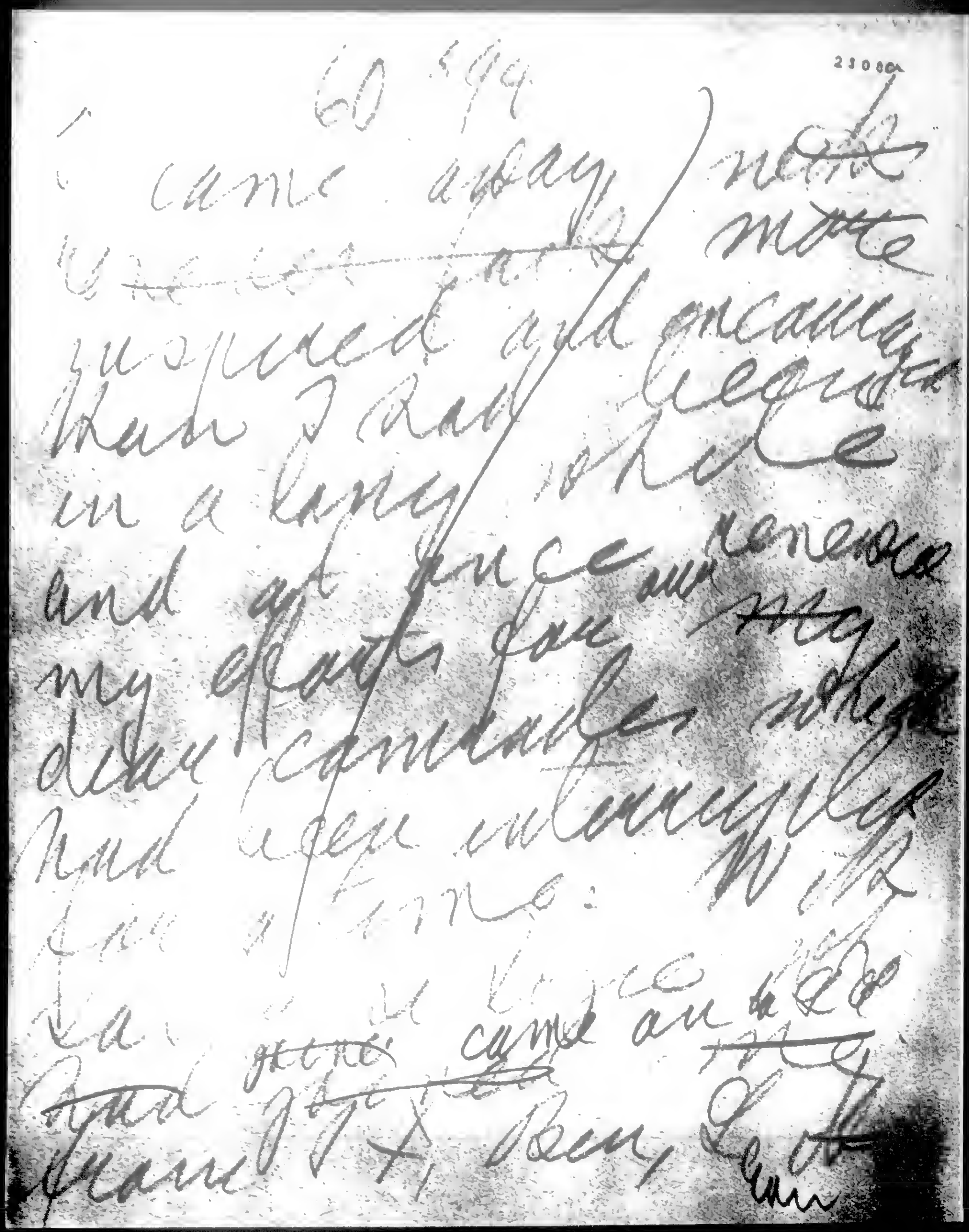

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21080

66

My ready to be every
fate most unjustly
was meant give me
more courage and
strength to renew
my battles

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60 099

my ~~own~~ [illegible] [illegible] old
young daughter Benny
Capes who came for
[illegible] [fun and recreation] several [illegible]
we organized a
mass meeting ~~at~~
& ~~[illegible]~~ and a
social ~~to~~ to raise
funds for the defense
of our friends The
meeting took place
in the Alliance Temple

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2108a

after 10 h. spent
among bees. Prison
life is chemically
the Lazaretto
in the Upness
fuel to revenge
the hate
you getting the letter,
Red. If the letter of the Co
rug nevil of the Lanterna
intelligent Lanterna
of the right
the placed the temple.

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21080

61

men are guilty of
the grossest
crimes against society
generally, to be
freed of the guilty
on the County Jail
Their spirit Revenge
are economic and
political and
their fines and
their work
on them. The
was exploited by
Emma Goldman

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Mills case
1915

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[Crimes and Criminals] / Emma Goldman. – (fragment). – 8 p. ; 27 × 18 cm.

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THIS SAME HOLDS GOOD FOR THE CAUSE OF ADULT CRIMES. MANY OF THEM COMMIT THEIR CRIMES UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH ARE LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ACT. THERE ARE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH ALMOST ANY PERSON WOULD COMMIT CRIME. FORTUNATELY FOR THE MOST OF US, SUCH COMBINATIONS OF CIRCUMSTANCES DO NOT OCCUR IN OUR LIVES.

BUT THERE ARE THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE IN WHOSE LIVES, POVERTY, DISTRESS, UNEMPLOYMENT, HOPELESSNESS DO EXIST. AND THESE PERSONS WHEN THEY COMMIT CRIME CAN HARDLY BE DISTINGUISHED FROM THE RANK AND FILE OF THE LAW-ABIDING EXCEPT BY THIS SINGLE FALL FROM GRACE.

PERSONS WHO KNOW THEM IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIFE AND THOSE WHO DEAL WITH THEM IN

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PRISON KNOW THAT THEY ARE ORDINARY OR NORMAL HUMAN BEINGS. FROM THESE WE SHADE IMPERCEPTIBLY INTO GROUPS IN WHICH THE INDUCING CAUSE OF CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR IS SO SUBTLE AND INCONSPICUOUS THAT IT CAN BE DETECTED ONLY BY THE MOST CAREFUL CLINICAL STUDY. THIS DEVIATION FROM THE NORMAL MAY INDUCE CRIMINALITY ONLY ONCE IN A CAREER. THERE ARE OTHER TROUBLED SOULS WHO ARE CONSTANTLY ON THE VERGE OF CONFLICT WITH ~~SOCIETY~~ new society WHO MANAGE LARGELY THROUGH THE AID OF GOOD LUCK TO ESCAPE THE COMMISSION OF A CRIME.

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NAMES OF VARIOUS BOYS AND GIRLS FROM SOME OF THE BEST FAMILIES. THE SHERIFF TOLD ME THAT WHEN HE FOUND OUT THE NAMES THAT HAD BEEN REPORTED, INCLUDING AMONG OTHERS THE DAUGHTER OF A PROMINENT POLITICIAN, HE SENT FOR HIS OFFICERS AND SAID--"OF COURSE THERE'S A LOT GOING ON, MEN, BUT DON'T SEE IT!" HE WAS PERFECTLY NAIVE AND FRANK ABOUT THIS ADMISSION AND WE ALL KNOW THAT HE WAS NO EXCEPTION TO THE CITY OFFICIAL WHO PURPOSELY DOES NOT SEE WHAT HE KNOWS IS TO HIS ADVANTAGE NOT TO SEE.

p.191 THERE ARE ALSO INTERESTING REVELATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES. FOR EXAMPLE, THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK IN THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN ESTIMATED TO BE AROUND 60,000 YEARLY. THIS IS PROBABLY APPROSIMATELY CORRECT. NO ONE WILL EVER KNOW THE NUMBER OF CRIMINAL ABORTIONS THAT ARE BEING PERFORMED. THEY WOULD NO DOUBT ADD THOUSANDS OF CASES TO THE NUMBER OF UNMARRIED PREGNANCIES. COMPARATIVELY FEW OF THESE GIRLS OR

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INTERESTING. IT SEEMS WITHOUT DOUBT TO BE DUE TO THE DEVITALIZING EFFECT OF THE INTENSE HEAT OF 85 DEGREES AND ABOVE."

Part Deleted

ATMOSPHERIC PRESSURE. THE SAME STUDY REVEALED THE FACT THAT THE NUMBER OF ARRESTS ROSE AS THE BAROMETER FELL. DEXTER INTERPRETED THIS AS HAVING NOTHING TO DO WITH THE ACTUAL WEIGHT OF THE ATMOSPHERE BUT ATTRIBUTED THE INCREASED CRIMINALITY TO THE INFLUENCE OF LOW PRESSURE PERIODS PRECEDING STORMS, WHICH AFFECT MANY PERSONS AND INDUCE BELLIGERENCY IN SOME. THE SEXES APPEARED TO BE ABOUT EQUALLY AFFECTED IN THIS PARTICULAR.

HUMIDITY. LOW HUMIDITY WAS FOUND TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY EXCESSIVE ASSAULTS AND HIGH HUMIDITY SEEMED TO EXERCISE A RESTRAINING EFFECT. "DAYS OF HIGH HUMIDITY ARE NOT

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CANDY FOR HIS FRIENDS WITH THE STOLEN MONEY.

DR. HEALY TRACES THE ORIGIN OF THE BOY'S LATER PLIGHT TO "HIS DISCOMFITURE AND SHAME AND FEELING OF INFERIORITY AT SO BREAKING WITH FAMILY CONFIDENCES AND STANDARDS OF HONESTY, HOWEVER INDEFINITE HIS APPRECIATION OF SUCH THINGS MAY HAVE BEEN AT THAT EARLY AGE."

~~SUCH A CASE, AND~~ MYRIAD COMMON EXPERIENCES, PROVE THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FALSITY OF THE INSPIRED DOCTRINE THAT HUMAN BEINGS CAN CHOOSE FREELY AND AT ALL TIMES BETWEEN RIGHT AND WRONG. EARLY INFLUENCES AND THE ACCUMULATION OF HABITUAL RESPONSES CANNOT BE IGNORED. THEY ARE THE PREDOMINANT FACTORS IN ALL CONDUCT. THE TRAGEDY IS THAT RECOGNITION OF THE ORIGINS OF CRIMINALITY COMES LONG AFTER THE FACT. DEEP IN THE NERVOUS SYSTEM, ESTABLISHED HABITS SINK IN AN EVER-DEEPER GROOVE. THEY ARE NEVER OBLITERATED, AND CAN

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BE OVERLAID WITH NEW, SOCIALLY VALUABLE HABITS ONLY BY THE GREATEST EFFORT.

THERE WAS A CASE OF A WOMAN IN DETROIT SENT UP FOR LIFE AS A HABITUAL CRIMINAL. SHE MARRIED AT THE AGE OF 15. IS NOW 39 YEARS OF AGE AND HAS 12 CHILDREN. THIS WOMAN EXPLAINED THAT IT IS ONLY DURING PREGNANCY THAT SHE IS SEIZED BY AN IRRESISTABLE FORCE TO STEAL. CLEARLY, THIS IS A CASE FOR A PSYCHATRIST AND NOT A JUDGE. YET, THIS WOMAN IS SENT UP FOR LIFE. WHO, THEN, IS THE REAL CRIMINAL? THE WOMAN OR THE JUDGE?

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A PRISON HAS, AND MUST HAVE, A DEGRADING EFFECT ON ITS INMATES. TAKE A MAN FRESHLY BROUGHT TO A GOAL. THE MOMENT HE ENTERS THE HOUSE HE IS NO MORE A HUMAN BEING; HE IS "NUMBER SO AND SO." HE MUST HAVE NO MORE WILL OF HIS OWN. THEY PUT HIM IN A FOOL'S DRESS TO UNDERLINE HIS DEGRADATION. THEY DEPRIVE HIM OF EVERY INTERCOURSE WITH THOSE TOWARDS WHOM HE MAY HAVE AN ATTACHMENT, AND THUS EXCLUDE THE ACTION OF THE ONLY ELEMENT WHICH COULD HAVE A GOOD EFFECT UPON HIM.

THEN HE IS PUT TO LABOR, BUT NOT TO A LABOR THAT MIGHT HELP TO HIS MORAL IMPROVEMENT. PRISON WORK IS MADE TO BE AN INSTRUMENT OF ~~BASE~~ REVENGE. WHAT MUST THE PRISONER THINK OF THE INTELLIGENCE OF THESE "PILLARS OF SOCIETY" WHO PRETEND BY SUCH PUNISHMENTS TO

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"BEFORE THE PETIONERS"

THE PRISONER'S BRAIN IS THUS WORKING OVER AND OVER AGAIN UPON THE IDEA OF THE INJUSTICE OF A SOCIETY WHICH PARDONS AND OFTEN RESPECTS SUCH SWINDLERS AS SO MANY COMPANY PROMOTERS ARE, AND WICKEDLY PUNISHES HIM, SIMPLY BECAUSE HE WAS NOT CUNNING ENOUGH. AND THE MOMENT HE IS OUT HE TAKES HIS REVENGE BY SOME OFFENCE VERY OFTEN MUCH GRAVER THAN HIS FIRST ONE. REVENGE BREEDS REVENGE UPON SOCIETY. EVERY PRISON, BECAUSE IT IS A PRISON, DESTROYS THE PHYSICAL ENERGY OF ITS INMATES. IT ACTS UPON THEM FAR WORSE THAN AN ARTIC WINTERING. THE WANT OF FRESH AIR, THE MONOTONY OF EXISTENCE, ESPECIALLY THE WANT OF IMPRESSIONS, TAKE ALL ENERGY OUT OF THE PRISONER. AND FINALLY, WHILE MOST ANTI-SOCIAL ACTS CAN BE TRACED

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[The Necessary Reform of Prisons] / Emma Goldman.– (fragment).– 8 p. ; 27 × 17 cm.

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NOW

WELL-MEANING PERSONS ARE ~~NOT~~ WORKING FOR A NEW DEPARTURE IN THE PRISON QUESTION - RECLAMATION TO RESTORE ONCE MORE TO THE PRISONER THE POSSIBILITY OF BECOMING A HUMAN BEING. COMMENDABLE AS THIS IS, I FEAR IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO HOPE FOR GOOD RESULTS ~~FROM POURING GOOD WINE INTO A DIRTY BOTTLE.~~ NOTHING SHORT OF A COMPLETE RECONSTRUCTION OF SOCIETY WILL DELIVER MANKIND FROM THE CANCER OF CRIME.

STILL, IF THE DULL EDGE OF OUR SOCIAL CONSCIENCE WOULD BE SHARPENED, THE PENAL INSTITUTIONS MIGHT BE GIVEN A NEW COAT OF ~~VARNISH~~ paint. BUT THE FIRST STEP TO BE TAKEN IS THE RENOVATION OF THE SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS, WHICH IS IN A RATHER DILAPIDATED CONDITION. IT IS SADLY IN NEED TO BE AWAKENED TO THE FACT THAT CRIME IS A QUESTION OF DEGREE, THAT WE

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ALL HAVE THE RUDIMENTS OF CRIME IN US, MORE OR LESS, ACCORDING TO OUR MENTAL, PHYSICAL, AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT; AND THAT THE INDIVIDUAL CRIMINAL IS MERELY A REFLEX OF THE TENDENCIES OF THE AGGREGATE. summarizing

WITH THE SOCIAL CONSCICUSNESS AWAKENED, THE AVERAGE INDIVIDUAL MAY LEARN TO REFUSE THE "HONOR OF BEING THE BLOODHOUND OF THE LAW." HE MAY CEASE TO PERSECUTE, DESPISE, AND MISTRUST THE SOCIAL OFFENDER, AND GIVE HIM A CHANCE TO LIVE AND BREATHE AMONG HIS FELLOWS. INSTITUTIONS ARE, OF COURSE, HARDER TO REACH. THEY ARE COLD, IMPENETRABLE, AND CRUEL; STILL, WITH THE SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS QUICKENED, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO FREE THE PRISON VICTIMS FROM THE BRUTALITY OF PRISON OFFICIALS, GUARDS AND KEEPERS. PUBLIC OPINION IS A POWERFUL

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[The Necessary Reform of Prisons] / Emma Goldman.– (fragment).– 8 p. ; 27 × 17 cm.

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WEAPON; KEEPERS OF HUMAN PREY, EVEN, ARE A LITTLE AFRAID OF IT. THEY MAY BE TAUGHT A LITTLE HUMANITY, ESPECIALLY IF THEY REALIZE THAT THEIR JOBS DEPEND UPON IT.

BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT STEP IS TO DEMAND FOR THE PRISONER THE RIGHT TO WORK WHILE IN PRISON, WITH SOME MONETARY RECOMPENSE THAT WOULD ENABLE HIM TO LAY ASIDE A LITTLE FOR THE DAY OF HIS RELEASE, THE BEGINNING OF A NEW LIFE.

Greater humanity often shown by capitalists than by people outside of prison

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MATT OSBURN'S EXPERIENCE IN SING SING.

THE MODERN PRISON IN DOBB'S FERRY.

THE LIFER IN COLORADO WHO WAS ALLOWED TO GO TO DENVER TO PLEAD HIS OWN CASE.

THE CASE IN ST. QUENTIN PRISON, MOOR THE DANGEROUS CRIMINAL.

death in Air

THE CASE OF THE SING SING PRISONERS WHO ON SIGHT OF TWO DROWNING BOYS RUSHED TO THEIR RESCUE AND WERE HELD BACK BY THE BRUTAL GUARDS.

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I HAVE SAID ELSEWHERE THAT THOUSANDS OF CONVICTS, INCOMPETENT AND WITHOUT A TRADE, WITHOUT MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE, ARE YEARLY TURNED BACK INTO THE SOCIAL FOLD. THESE MEN AND WOMEN MUST LIVE, FOR EVEN AN EX-CONVICT HAS NEEDS. PRISON LIFE HAS MADE THEM ANTI-SOCIAL BEINGS, AND THE RIGIDLY CLOSED DOORS THAT MEET THEM ON THEIR RELEASE ARE NOT LIKELY TO DECREASE THEIR BITTERNESS.

THE INEVITABLE RESULT IS THAT THEY FORM A FAVORABLE NUCLEUS OUT OF WHICH ~~SPIES,~~ Stoolpigeons DETECTIVES, AND POLICEMEN ARE DRAWN, ONLY TOO WILLING TO DO THE MASTER'S BIDDING. THUS ORGANIZED LABOR, BY ITS FOOLISH OPPOSITION TO WORK IN PRISONS DEFEATS ITS OWN ENDS. IT HELPS TO CREAT OBSTACLES WHICH PREVENT EVERY ATTEMPT FOR ECONOMIC BETTERMENT.

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IF THE WORKINGMAN WANTS TO AVOID THESE EFFECTS, HE SHOULD INSIST ON THE RIGHT OF THE CONVICT TO WORK. HE SHOULD MEET HIM AS A BROTHER, TAKE HIM INTO HIS ORGANIZATION, AND WITH HIS AID TURN AGAINST THE SYSTEM WHICH GRINDS THEM BOTH.

beg to differ

LAST, BUT NOT LEAST, IS THE GROWING REALIZATION OF THE BARBARITY AND THE INADEQUACY OF THE DEFINITE SENTENCE. THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN, AND EARNESTLY AIM AT, A CHANGE ARE FAST COMING TO THE CONCLUSION THAT MAN MUST BE GIVEN AN OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE GOOD.

How can one expect to reform the convict

~~AND NOT TO HE TO DO IT~~ WITH TEN, FIFTEEN, OR TWENTY YEARS' IMPRISONMENT BEFORE HIM? THE HOPE OF LIBERTY AND OF OPPOR-

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TUNITY IS THE ONLY INCENTIVE TO LIFE, ESPECIALLY THE PRISONER'S LIFE. SOCIETY HAS SINNED SO LONG AGAINST HIM - IT OUGHT AT LEAST TO LEAVE HIM THAT.

Kropotkin

"THOSE WHO WILL HOLD THE BALANCE BETWEEN THE BENEFITS THUS ATTRIBUTED TO LAW AND PUNISHMENT AND THE DEGRADING EFFECT OF THE LATTER ON HUMANITY; THOSE WHO WILL ESTIMATE THE TORRENT OF DEPRAVITY POURED ABROAD IN HUMAN SOCIETY BY THE INFORMER, FAVORED BY THE JUDGE EVEN, AND PAID FOR IN CLINKING CASH BY GOVERNMENTS, UNDER THE PRETEXT OF AIDING TO UNMASK CRIME; THOSE WHO WILL GO WITHIN PRISON WALLS AND THERE SEE WHAT HUMAN BEINGS BECOME WHEN DEPRIVED OF LIBERTY, WHEN SUBJECTED TO THE CARE OF BRUTAL KEEPERS, TO COARSE, CRUEL WORDS, TO A THOUSAND STINGING, PIERCING HUMILIATIONS, WILL AGREE WITH ME

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THAT THE ENTIRE APPARATUS OF PRISON AND PUNISHMENT IS AN ABOMINATION WHICH OUGHT TO BE BROUGHT TO AN END."

AFTER EIGHTEEN MONTHS OF HORROR IN AN ENGLISH PRISON, OSCAR WILDE GAVE TO THE WORLD HIS GREAT MASTERPIECE, "THE BALLAD OF READING GOAL":

THE VILEST DEEDS, LIKE POISON WEEDS,
BLOOM WELL IN PRISON AIR;
IT IS ONLY WHAT IS GOOD IN MAN
THAT WASTES AND WITHERS THERE.
PALE ANGUISH KEEPS THE HEAVY GATE,
AND THE WARDER IS DESPAIR.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[How Prisons Contribute to the Development of Criminality] / Emma Goldman. – (fragment). – 5 p. ; 30 × 19 cm.

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"REFORM" THE PRISONERS?

THE PRISONER'S BRAIN IS THUS WORKING OVER AND OVER AGAIN UPON THE IDEA OF THE INJUSTICE OF A SOCIETY WHICH PARDONS AND OFTEN RESPECTS SUCH SWINDLERS AS SO MANY COMPANY PROMOTERS ARE, AND WICKEDLY PUNISHES HIM, SIMPLY BECAUSE HE WAS NOT CUNNING ENOUGH. AND THE MOMENT HE IS OUT HE TAKES HIS REVENGE BY SOME OFFENCE VERY OFTEN MUCH GRAVER THAN HIS FIRST ONE. REVENGE BREEDS REVENGE UPON SOCIETY. EVERY PRISON, BECAUSE IT IS A PRISON, DESTROYS THE PHYSICAL ENERGY OF ITS INMATES. IT ACTS UPON THEM FAR WORSE THAN AN ARTIC WINTERING. THE WANT OF FRESH AIR, THE MONOTONY OF EXISTENCE, ESPECIALLY THE WANT OF IMPRESSIONS, TAKE ALL ENERGY OUT OF THE PRISONER. AND FINALLY, WHILE MOST ANTI-SOCIAL ACTS CAN BE TRACED

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TO A WEAKNESS OF WILL, THE PRISON EDUCATION IS DIRECTED PRECISELY TOWARDS KILLING EVERY MANIFESTATION OF WILL.

WHAT CAN REMAIN OF A MAN'S WILL AND GOOD INTENTIONS AFTER FIVE OR SIX YEARS OF SUCH AN EDUCATION? AND WHERE CAN HE GO AFTER HIS RELEASE, UNLESS HE RETURNS TO THE VERY SAME SLUMS, WHOSE COMAPNY HAS BROUGHT HIM TO THE GAOL? THEY ARE THE ONLY ONES WHO WILL RECEIVE HIM AS AN EQUAL. BUT WHEN HE JOINS THEM HE IS SURE TO RETURN TO THE PRISON IN A VERY FEW MONTHS. AND SO HE DOES. THE GAOLERS KNOW IT WELL.

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PROF. PARSONS ON PUNISHMENT

TORTURE, WHEN APPLIED AS A PART OF EXECUTIONS, WAS BUT A THINLY VEILED FORM OF VENGEANCE. IT WAS JUSTIFIED AS EXPIATION AND RETRIBUTION WHICH WERE IMAGINARY VALUES SERVING NO PURPOSES OTHER THAN TO SATISFY THE POPULAR NOTIONS OF THE FITNESS OF THINGS. ITS DETERRENT VALUE HAS NEVER BEEN ESTABLISHED. THE PILING UP OF PENALTIES FOR REPEATED OFFENSES AND THE RESORT TO MORE AND MORE FIENDISH METHODS OF INFLICTING SUFFERING SEEM TO INDICATE THAT THE EFFECTS WERE THE OPPOSITE OF THOSE DESIRED. NO DOUBT THE SAME THING WAS TRUE OF TORTURE WITHOUT DEATH AND OF MUTILATION. THE SOCIAL HANDICAP OF THE BRANDED OFFENDER WEIGHED HEAVILY AGAINST HIS SOCIAL REHABILITATION.

OUT OF 461 PERSONS WHIPPED BY ORDER OF

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FOR ALL MODERN PURPOSES IMPRISONMENT HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED TO BE A FAILURE. IT DOES NOT PROTECT SOCIETY. IT DOES NOT DETER CRIMINALS FROM COMMITTING CRIME. THE MOST STRENUOUS, PAINSTAKING AND PERSISTENT EFFORTS OF THE PAST ONE HUNDRED YEARS HAVE NOT SERVED TO REDUCE THE PERCENTAGE OF CRIME. ATTEMPTS TO MAKE THE PRISON A MEANS OF REFORMATION HAVE BEEN BY NO MEANS SUCCESSFUL. INSTEAD, THE PRISON NOW RESTS UNDER THE INDICTMENT OF BEING ONE OF THE CHIEF CONTRIBUTING FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HABIT OF CRIMINALITY.

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THE COURT IN WILMINGTON IN 1904 THE RECIDIVISTS WERE AS FOLLOWS:

54 HAD BEEN WHIPPED TWICE,

14 THREE TIMES,

4 FOUR TIMES, AND 1 FIVE TIMES.

WARDEN MESERVE OF THE WILMINGTON WORKHOUSE STATED THAT "MEN WHO HAVE BEEN WHIPPED ARE NEVER AS GOOD PRISONERS AS BEFORE."

IT EITHER BREAKS THEIR SPIRIT OR MAKES THEM WORSE BRUTES THAN BEFORE; IT DOES NOT HUMANIZE OR SOCIALIZE THEM.

THIS I RECOMMEND TO THE PARTICULAR ATTENTION OF THE CANADIAN JUDGES WHO CONTINUE TO SEND OFFENDERS TO THE LASH.

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[Crime and Punishment] / Emma Goldman. – [1936?, fragment]. – 8 p. ; 27 × 17 cm.

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THE METHODS OF COPING WITH CRIME HAVE NO DOUBT UNDERGONE ~~SEVERAL~~ CHANGES, BUT MAINLY IN A THEORETIC SENSE. IN PRACTICE, SOCIETY HAS RETAINED THE PRIMITIVE MOTIVE IN DEALING WITH THE OFFENDER, THAT IS, REVENGE. IT ~~HAS~~ ALSO ~~ADOPTED~~ THE THEOLOGIC IDEA; NAMELY, PUNISHMENT; WHILE THE LEGAL AND "CIVILIZED" METHODS CONSIST OF DETERRENCE OR TERROR, AND REFORM. WE SHALL PRESENTLY SEE THAT ALL ~~FOUR~~ MODES HAVE FAILED UTTERLY, AND THAT WE ARE TO-DAY NO NEARER A SOLUTION THAN IN THE DARK AGES.

THE NATURAL IMPULSE OF THE PRIMITIVE MAN TO STRIKE BACK, TO AVENGE A WRONG, IS OUT OF DATE. INSTEAD, THE CIVILIZED MAN, STRIPPED OF COURAGE AND DARING, HAS DELEGATED TO AN ORGANIZED MACHINERY THE DUTY OF AVENGING HIS WRONGS, IN THE FOOLISH BELIEF

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THAT THE STATE IS JUSTIFIED IN DOING WHAT HE NO LONGER HAS THE MANHOOD OR CONSISTENCY TO DO.

THE "MAJESTY OF THE LAW" IS A REASONING THING; IT WOULD NOT STOOP TO PRIMITIVE INSTINCTS. ITS MISSION IS OF A "HIGHER" NATURE. TRUE, IT IS STILL STEEPED IN THE THEOLOGIC MUDDLE, WHICH PROCLAIMS PUNISHMENT AS A MEANS OF PURIFICATION, OR THE VICARIOUS ATONEMENT OF SIN. BUT LEGALLY AND SOCIALLY THE STATUTE EXERCISES PUNISHMENT, NOT MERELY AS AN INFLICTION OF PAIN UPON THE OFFENDER, BUT ALSO FOR ITS TERRIFYING EFFECT UPON OTHERS.

WHAT IS THE REAL BASIS OF PUNISHMENT, HOWEVER? THE NOTION OF A FREE WILL, THE IDEA THAT MAN IS AT ALL TIMES A FREE AGENT FOR GOOD OR EVIL; IF HE CHOOSES THE LATTER,

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HE MUST BE MADE TO PAY THE PRICE. ALTHOUGH THIS THEORY HAS LONG BEEN EXPLODED, AND THROWN UPON THE DUSTHEAP, IT CONTINUES TO BE APPLIED DAILY BY THE ENTIRE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT, TURNING IT INTO THE MOST CRUEL AND BRUTAL TORMENTOR OF HUMAN LIFE. THE ONLY REASON FOR ITS CONTINUANCE IS THE STILL MORE CRUEL NOTION THAT THE GREATER THE TERROR PUNISHMENT SPREADS, THE MORE CERTAIN ITS PREVENTATIVE EFFECT.

SOCIETY IS USING THE MOST DRASTIC METHODS IN DEALING WITH THE SOCIAL OFFENDER. WHY DO THEY NOT DETER? ALTHOUGH A MAN IS SUPPOSED TO BE CONSIDERED INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY, THE INSTRUMENTS OF LAW, THE POLICE, CARRY ON A REIGN OF TERROR, MAKING INDISCRIMINATE ARRESTS, BEATING, CLUBBING, BULLYING PEOPLE, USING THE BARBAROUS METHOD

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OF THE "THIRD DEGREE", SUBJECTING THEIR UNFORTUNATE VICTIMS TO THE FOUL AIR OF THE STATION HOUSE, AND THE STILL FOULER LANGUAGE OF ITS GUARDIANS. YET CRIMES ARE RAPIDLY ~~[illegible]~~ increasing AND SOCIETY IS PAYING THE PRICE.

ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS AN OPEN SECRET THAT WHEN THE UNFORTUNATE CITIZEN HAS BEEN GIVEN THE FULL "MERCY" OF THE LAW, AND FOR THE SAKE OF SAFETY IS HIDDEN IN WORST OF HELLS, HIS REAL CALVARY BEGINS.

ROBBED OF HIS RIGHTS AS A HUMAN BEING, DEGRADED TO A MERE AUTOMATON WITHOUT WILL OR FEELING, DEPENDENT ENTIRELY UPON THE MERCY OF BRUTAL KEEPERS, HE DAILY GOES THROUGH A PROCESS OF DEHUMANIZATION, COMPARED WITH WHICH SAVAGE REVENGE WAS MERE CHILD'S PLAY.

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THERE ARE VERY FEW PENAL INSTITUTIONS OR REFORMATORIES IN THE WORLD WHERE MEN ARE NOT TORTURED "TO BE MADE GOOD", BY MEANS OF THE BLACK-JACK, ~~THE CLUB,~~ THE STRAIT-JACKET, THE WATER-CURE, AND ~~THE AIRTIGHT~~ THE "HUMMING BIRD" (AN ELECTRICAL CONTRIVANCE RUN ALONG THE HUMAN BODY), THE SOLITARY, ~~THE~~ BULL-RING, STARVATION DIET, AND THE LASH ~~IN CANADA.~~ IN THESE INSTITUTIONS HIS WILL IS BROKEN, HIS SOUL DEGRADED, HIS SPIRIT SUBDUED BY THE DEADLY MONOTONY AND ROUTINE OF PRISON LIFE.

IN VARIOUS STATES IN AMERICA, IN OHIO, ILLINOIS, PENNSYLVANIA, MISSOURI, AND IN THE SOUTH, THESE HORRORS HAVE BECOME SO FLAGRANT AS ~~TO REACH~~ THE OUTSIDE WORLD. WHILE IN MOST OTHER PRISONS, THE SAME CHRISTIAN METHODS STILL PREVAIL. ~~THE~~ PRISON WALLS

Not mainstream ever
since 1936
More often

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RARELY ALLOW THE AGONIZED SHRIEKS OF THE VICTIMS TO ESCAPE - PRISON WALLS ARE THICK, THEY DULL THE SOUND.

SOCIETY MIGHT WITH GREATER IMMUNITY ABOLISH ALL PRISONS AT ONCE, THAN TO HOPE FOR ~~PROTECTION~~ reform FROM THESE TWENTIETH-CENTURY CHAMBERS OF HORRORS.

YEAR AFTER YEAR THE GATES OF PRISON HELLS RETURN TO THE WORLD AN EMACIATED, DEFORMED, WILL-LESS, SHIP-WRECKED CREW OF HUMANITY, WITH THE CAIN ~~MARK~~ mark of ON THEIR FORE-HEADS, THEIR HOPES CRUSHED, ALL THEIR NATURAL INCLINATIONS THWARTED. WITH NOTHING BUT HUNGER AND INHUMANITY TO GREET THEM, THESE VICTIMS SOON SINK BACK INTO CRIME AS THE ONLY POSSIBILITY OF EXISTENCE. IT IS NOT AT ALL AN UNUSUAL THING TO FIND MEN, AND

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WOMEN WHO HAVE SPENT HALF THEIR LIVES, - NAY, ALMOST THEIR ENTIRE EXISTENCE - IN PRISON.

I KNEW A WOMAN ON BLACKWELL'S ISLAND, WHO HAD BEEN IN AND OUT THIRTY-EIGHT TIMES; AND THROUGH A FRIEND I LEARN THAT A YOUNG BOY OF SEVENTEEN, WHOM HE HAD NURSED AND CARED FOR IN THE PITTSBURG PENITENTIARY, HAD NEVER KNOWN THE MEANING OF LIBERTY. FROM THE REFORMATORY TO THE PENITENTIARY HAD BEEN THE PATH OF THIS BOY'S LIFE, UNTIL BROKEN IN BODY, HE DIED A VICTIM OF SOCIAL REVENGE.

Warden Pittsburg
My dear American friend
I 963 out of 38 times
Thousands times in Auburn
Little Roman
Victim Nelson
He was issued by the Department
well known Boston Prisoners

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READ "PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST"

A MONUMENTAL WORK BY ALEX. BERKMAN WHO HAS SPENT 14 YEARS IN ONE OF AMERICA'S TERRIBLE PRISONS [redacted]T YOU WILL NEVER AGAIN BELIEVE IN PRISONS AS A PLACE OF REDEEMING PEOPLE.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN DESCRIBES THE HORRORS OF SOLITARY CONFINEMENT IN THE WESTERN PENITENTIARY IN PENNSYLVANIA AND THE FEDERAL PRISON OF ATLANTA. READ THE WORK AND IT WILL MAKE YOU REALIZE WHAT IS GOING ON IN PRISONS AND WHY THEY DO NOT DETER.

OR THE WORK OF PETER KROPOTKIN, A GREAT AND BEAUTIFUL SOUL. WRITING ON PRISONS TURNING OUT FULL-FLEDGED CRIMINALS HE GOES ON TO SAY:

The Social Forces in Germany and the Reasons for the Rise of Nazism; The Impact on German Culture

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The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy of Germany and the Forces That Caused It / Emma Goldman. – (fragment). – 28 p. ; 30 × 19 cm.
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THE TRAGEDY OF GERMANY AND THE FORCES

THAT CAUSED IT.

THE WORLD OUtside of Germany is under the impression that it was the Versaille treaty, the inflation and the world crisis that had brought about the socalled National Revolution.

To be sure, a defeated people bled white by four years war, and brought to the brink of despair by its devestating aftermate are easily susceptable to every sort of quackery that promises relief from intolerable conditions. But it were a grivious mistake to see in the Versaille treaty, the inflation and the depression the only causes that brought about the tragedy of Germany. The other forces had their being long before the war, or the so called peace imposed upon the people of Germany by the Versille treaty. To [redacted] collapse

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Yet that could hardly explain the ease with which Hitler and his hords swept over the land devastating everything that had been built up over a hundred years. For it must not be forgotten that Germany had boasted of Socialist traditions ingrained in three generations with millions of followers, a vast educational and cultural machinery and a lagge working capital. Also there was the trade union movement with millions of organized workers. Yet this proud edifice was swept away as so much dust at the first unslaught of hurricane Hitlers minions. Neither can one explain how a socially conscious mass could be brought to its knees without some concerted effort to redefend its heritage. It is certain that deeper forces must have been at work to bring about the German catastrophy.

The purpse of my lecture to night is to point out these forces.

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They are; First the disintegration of Social Democracy.

Secondly Prussian Junkerdom that had lorded ~~of the~~ over Germany for two hundred ~~years~~ centuries.

Thirdly The avarice of the heavy industrialists.

Fourtly, and strange as it may seem The Communist Party of Germany. Unwittingly ~~they~~ ~~[illegible]~~ also played the part of the Accouheur in helping ~~to~~ birth the monstrous child, National Socialism.

~~Sastxt~~ Socialism had come to the disinhereted as a flaming ideal of liberation, justice, and welbeing. It was revolutionary in the sense that it aimed to bring about fundamental changes. Bravely and openly it proclaimed the need of revolutionary methods which alone would free mankind from the evils of capitalism and clear the ground for a new social structure.

Socialism had reached its zenith in the First ~~Internati~~

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The split between the revolutionary forces whose voice was the stormy petrel Michael Bakunin and the forces of Marx and Engles who had stressed the necessity of capturing the state by means of political action marked the beginning of the descent from the heights of Social Democracy. Its final plunge took place in 1914 when it betrayed its International ideals and heritage to the Kaiser and the war mongers.

But Long before that the Social Democratic parties, not merely in Germany but in other countries as well had become a dumping ground for middle class carrierist and office seekers who saw in the party a stepping stone to the doubtful honors of ~~members of the state machine~~. These helped to emasculate the strength of Socialism and to turn its read blood into the pale substance of reform. The British Labor party with Ramsay Mc Donald as its spokesman is a case in point.

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gone their British comrade one better. Theirs had been a slow but sure process of disintegration that found its culminating expression in August 1914.

So much had been said and written about the Revolution in Germany on the 9th of Nov 1918. Fact is there was no revolution in the sense as the French, or even more so the Russian Revolutions. For, if revolutions have any meaning they come as the breaking point of inner necessity. They can not be artificiall brought about. The Revoution in Germany had as a matter of fact been imposed by the ALLIES WHO WOULD MAKE NO PEACE WITh the Hohenzollern Dynasty. So little had he Socialist leaders in Germany wated or expected the Revolution that Ebert wrote expressed doubts of the readyness of the German people for the Republic on the very eve of the ~~Rxxxx~~ political change. Indeed, he held out to the very last for a less drastic change. On the other hand Noske found it necessary to rush to the Keel

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induce them to be good boys. Read Kerensky's book. The Kaiser left the Senate remained

sailors and get them back to the lawabiding and ~~the respectable roles of the Social Democratic Party.~~

Confronted with an accomplished fact the Social Democracy accepted the Republic .But they did nothing to direct its course in constructive channels that would have helped to realize, if not all their programme had proclaimed for the workers, at least part of it. True they had helped to frame the Weimar Constitution,and then forgot all about it the moment it had been safely tucked away in the holy shrine of the state. No wonder the Frankfurter Zeitung, then the most Liberal in the country wrote one year later. " Never in the history of the struggle for political freedom had Revolution shown such lack of creative vision and ability and such feeble action as the leaders of Social Democracy".

Social Democracy and the Junkers

The landed aristocracy reprsented in the Prussian Junkers had been for two hundred years the source not only of the poverty of the masses but also the seat

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blackest reaction. Indeed . Brutal, domeneering and steeped in their feudal tradition they remained the iron clad cast that had been the course not merely of Prussia. But of the rest of Germany as well. The strngehold of this gentry can best be appreciated when one bears in mind that they comprise but seventeen thousand families over a population of sixty five mi millions.

A child could have realized the supreme duty of the Social Democracy to break up this vicious ring by braking up its vast land monopoly. This was impratives not omxx merely for the sake of the starved and suffering masses but also for political reasons. For it was a forgone certainty that the republic will be shortlived and reaction gain momentum if the Junkers will xax ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ be left to their old ~~nefarious~~ devices.

Too long had German Social Democracy moved in the narrow and straight path of awe for the sacred rights of property to even suggest that the Junkers sho

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should be made accessible to the people. Indeed so great had been their respect for the Junker cast they cheerfully helped to elect Hindeburg to the Presidency. Hindeburg the Junker of Junkers, digd in in the wool of militarism, a Monarchist of Monarchists. No one else in all of Germany could the Socialists find who should be at the helm of the new republic It were to weep, if this were not such a farce.

I still remember the fiery speeches made by the leaders of Socialism during the elections of 32 the articles in the Official Forwards and the camaping literature. " Who votes for Hindeburg Will save the Republic from Hitler. Who will elect Hindeburg will prevent the advent of National Socialism" And Hindeburg speech on the radio about his service to god and his country. A worthy representative of the people indeed. Hindeburg in his dotage mouthing the orders of his Junker neighbors at Neudeck in gratitude to the Nation that had presented him with this handsome

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The Junkers were by no means the only gang that fared so nicely under the Republic.The Kaiser and the entire Hohenzollern leaches also had no reasons to complain.For ~~dixx~~ had not the socialists voted the continuation of their loot stolen from the German people for so long. Even those memebers of the Dynasty who had long ago lost their right to their dutches ~~xxxxx~~ had not one pfennig reduced of their incomes. Thus while the infant mortally in Germany from malnuitrion was rising to alarming hieghts, and the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ millions of workers could find no work the Ex Kaiser ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Dorn and the ~~xxxx~~ many ~~dxxx~~ parasytic members of his family in the rest of Germany continued in affluance. In fact they had gained immeasurably by the Republic.They chad been set free of all res ~~xxxxxxx~~ from the hazards of Royalty.They had retained their fortunes. And they had been released of the need of worry. The Social Democrats did that for them

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Noless acqiescent had the party been to the con
tinued pilferings of both the workers and the state
~~on the part of~~ the heavy industrialists. These
magnats of the Ruhr had enriched themselves through
the war beyond belief. And they continued to do
so under the new regime.

I am well aware that Messrs Thysen, Stinnes
~~Frick~~ and the rest are no exception. Capitalsim
had everhwere profited by the World slaughte. The
German industrial Kings ~~[illegible]~~ however
had added insult to injury by draining the life
essence from a defeated people. Out of the wreck and ru
ruin of the world holocust these patriots had brought
upon Germany they ~~[illegible]~~ made ~~hay~~
capital of every misfortune that had been added to
the unfortunate German masses. They causee the
inflation and then made huge profits from it. With
the generosity of thieves they had even given the
their Arch enemy, the French [illegible]

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to gain by the National calamity. They precipitated the Ruhr Occup ation forced organised the workers to passive the strike of passive resistance . And then proceed to in understand with the heavy industrialists in France. A the same time they imposed the ten hour workday and reduced wages on their hapless com patriots of the proletariat.

In all this Stinness Thyseen and the Krup interes had the support of the Social Democrats and the Trade Union Leaders. It must be clear to any one who knows these historic facts that these men helpe to fertilise the soil for the poisonous growth of Germa Fascism. For in the last analisis it is not Hitl but his financial backers who are the backbone of National Socialism.

The Junkers,Thyssen and the rest know perfectly well there is no danger in Hitlers Socialism They had understood long ago that this term

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raised in the belief and faith in Socialism. It was a bait to catch the masses into the net of the Hitler scourge. Yet it is safe to say that the workers would not have been caught in the end had they not been misled by their own leaders. Had they not seen every effort at revolutionary resistance checked and decried in the Party press as provocations and the workers should have nothing to do with. And finally had they not witnessed guns deirected by Noske against their own comrades in the Spartacists uprising.

The world knows only of the outstanding personalities who had lost their lives in a brave attempt to stem the tide of Hitlerism. It knoww only of the tragic end of Rosa Lyxembourg, Liebknecht Landauer, Erzberger Eisner and Rathenau. But only the future will record the large number of nameless victims of the murderous Nazi gang done to death during a period of years before Htiler ascended to complete power. Or of those who had filled the prisons.

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sent there by the reactionary courts for months and year when the real criminals got away with slight sentnces or had never been apprehended at all. It is certainly a commentary on German Social Democracy to have retained not only the War hero Hindeburg as President.But all the Hohenzollern Generals and Officers as well as the old hoary Kaiser judiciary.

It will be conceded that the Socialst had not bee in the majority hence could have done anything. And what if they had actually been in complete power Would that have prevented the tragedy German catastrophy, Not with all the counter revolutionary forces left entrenched as they had been.Not with seventy five y five years or a longer period of traning and drilling in obdience and complete dependecne on Party discipline.

In other words, Social Democracy in acting as the handmaiden of the Junkers, the Steel and Coal trust and the rusticated courts ect had created the Hitler Frankenstein that finally proved

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their own undoing ~~and~~ as well as the annaihlatiobn of a great civilisation.

Unfortunately the Communists can also not been exempt from th4e doubtful honor of having addeded their sauce to the Nazi stew. I will have occasion to show the in so far as Communism had introduced the idea of Dictatorship as th e one and only god the masses must emulate it ~~have~~ is responcible for the same obsession from the Right. To night I only wish to point out that with all their avowal of revolutionary tactics the Communists in Germany hawled ith the rest of the parliamentary cliques They concentrated all their strength and energy on vote catching and neglecting the most essential phase in the revolutionary struggle, to prepare the workers for economic action and defense.

In justice to the German Communist party it has to be said that it never at any time had freedom to ~~s~~ of react as they saw fit to

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Time on end their dicisions had ~~taxbxxxxxxxx~~ been countermanded by Moscow. Or certain moves ordered as the ~~uprisingoinHamburg~~ abortive uprising in Hamburg in 1922 with its criminal sacrifce of some of the flower of the Communist Party.True after it was all over Radek and Zinovie had it out in grand style. But that did not undo the mischief. Or again when Radek hailed Slageter as a great hero thereby giving momentum to the National feeling of the German Communists of the Ruhr.

However, the fact remains that the methods used by the Communists were hardly ~~was little~~ different than those employed by the Nazis. The same mud slinging, the same phrasaoly about hate, vengeans, blood letting. With this exception ~~thxxx~~ the Nazis raved about the heads th that will roll when they get power.And the Communists proclaimed with the same ferver the wholesale shooting of their enemies. In addition the Communists kept up a campaing of villifaction of their stepbrothers

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the Socialist Party. they split the workers in their trade union organizations. And they bloc'ed every move even the most worth while of the Socialists in the Reichstag.

Druing my four months lecture tour through Germany I found it almost impossible to distinguish between the Nazi and the Communist Youth. They spoke and acted so alike, and were so alike in their raving fanatieism. Indeed, they two had esteableished quite an entante cordial ~~mutuax~~ interchanging their memebership. And so it often happened that the youngsters who one day were seen with the Soviet emblem would soon appear with the Swastika pinned to their lapels and visa versa. But mainly was there the similarity in the worship of Dictatorship ~~But~~ all and the notion of ~~force~~ coercion as the only telling argument. ~~Hax~~ The Hallowness of the Communist party was best demonstrated by the pityful collapse of the boasted six million votes. Yes six Million votes But no heads, no fighting strength. No iniative to

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of the workers to defend the country agains the black p lague.

Yet with all the forces that worked right into the hands of Hitler he might never have achieved his pernicious aims. For he had lost two million votes and he was begining to be looked upon as a mountebank. Something drastic was needed to sai the situation. The Reichstag fire was indeed heaven sent. For did not Hitler himself cry when he heard the Reich stag was burning that the Almighty God had sent him this sacred gift.

The events since Feb 27 are already common knowledge. But nothing the world had learned of the terror, the atrocities the inquisiton and the whole mad sadistic orgies going on in Germany quite compare with the actuality. The ~~iron heel of German fascism has trapled everything under~~

The Jews are by no means the only victims

No not only the Jews had been rathe victim ~~of Hitlers hand Goerings foby~~. I coming from Jewish st yet must protest against the impression that the Jews are the only sufferers. National Socialism is no respector o

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who thrives on human blood. Thousands of Gentile German Communists,Anarchists,Syndicalists Socialists,Pacifists Intelecctuals of the high est type, workers of the best humamn material,in short everybody who can not or will not put their heads in the Hitler noose,sing that infamous Horst Wessel Song,or Heil Hitler until they lose their voices have and are savagely beatn,tortured subjected to the most sickening humailations and ~~carried~~ dragged half dead to the hideous concentration camps. Pale fear and hallucinations stalks through the land the the air is thick with the agonized groans of thousands.

~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ The curtain on the Leipzig farce has ~~been~~ run down. Van der Lubbe has paid with his head for his staunch admission of his act. He could have saved his life had he but done what a nuber of ex communist witnesses had done, implicate his codefendents. But dull and sutpid as he appeared he had yet shown manhood and courage by exonarating the four Communists from any guilt in or cooperation in his act. There is all sorts of greatness in the world.But the demonstration

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of generosity to those who revile and repudiate us in the face of death is to me the finest kind of greatness.This alone would be prove positive that Van Van der Lubbe was not the type to lend himself as a tool.Indeed I know that this is a most prepost erous charge. I know because I had been in Holland before I came him. I had interviewed scores of people who know Van der Lubbe,who had lived and worked with All assured me the boy was of sterling quality, fanatically sincer and incabable of doing the foul bidding of others.

I do not mean to defend his act. I thought and still do that it was a childish thing to do.But who of us had not committed childish acts in our lives That is not enought to make me believe Van Der Lubbe a traitor or a dupe. He is supposed to have smiled all through the trial and even laughed alod at times. Perhaps he had not been so stupid as he had appeared. Perhaps he knew better than the rest

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The New York Press reported yesterday that the Nazi goverment had refused to turn over Van der Lubbes body to his relatives. I should have been surprised if they had not refused. They already stand exposed before the whole civilised world xxx for what they are , criminals that are putting the dark ages to shame. It can not be to their interest to let the world find out the methods used to brxxkx paralyse Van der Lub Lubbes brain, ~~the poison they had inoculated in~~ xxxx the slow poison that had numbed his mind, the tortured he had been subjected to.

Well, Van der Lubbe is dead.But let no one think Goerings lust for blood had been appeased. So long as Dmitroff the most heroic of the four and the his three comrades are within in Goerings reach they are not safe. And we must continue in the clamour of the awakened human conscience for their safe conduct from that Lunatic asylum once known as among the most civilised countries on earth.

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Social Democracy and the Junker

Social Democracy and the Upper Class of the Kaiser

Social Democracy and the Industrial Tyranny

Social Democracy [illegible]

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Hindenburg
as President
under
pressure of
pressures of
the cult of Hitler
~~The~~ fact The
election in 1932
The indignation
between you

165

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1

Democracy in its
ideal form aimed
at a minimum of
state power. Men
like Jefferson and
the rebels of the
48 Revolution
in Germany had
striven to keep
up centralized bu-
reaucracy nobody
dreamed yet the
citadelle of strong
government,
Bismarck soon arti-
ulated the dam
warning for

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liberty, 2 in the hearts
of the dumb masses
and it remained
the burning protest
against absolutism
against the state
worship of the
jacobines –
John Stuart Mill
Buckle & Herbert
Spencer had
thundered against
the growing danger
of the centralization
state planet

167

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16

Germany's Tragedy
the Forces that
led to the
World War
of Humanity
against
Barbarity

Dyssea, Tempe
Dyche Je Re
Ren Ryhr
Magnolia

168

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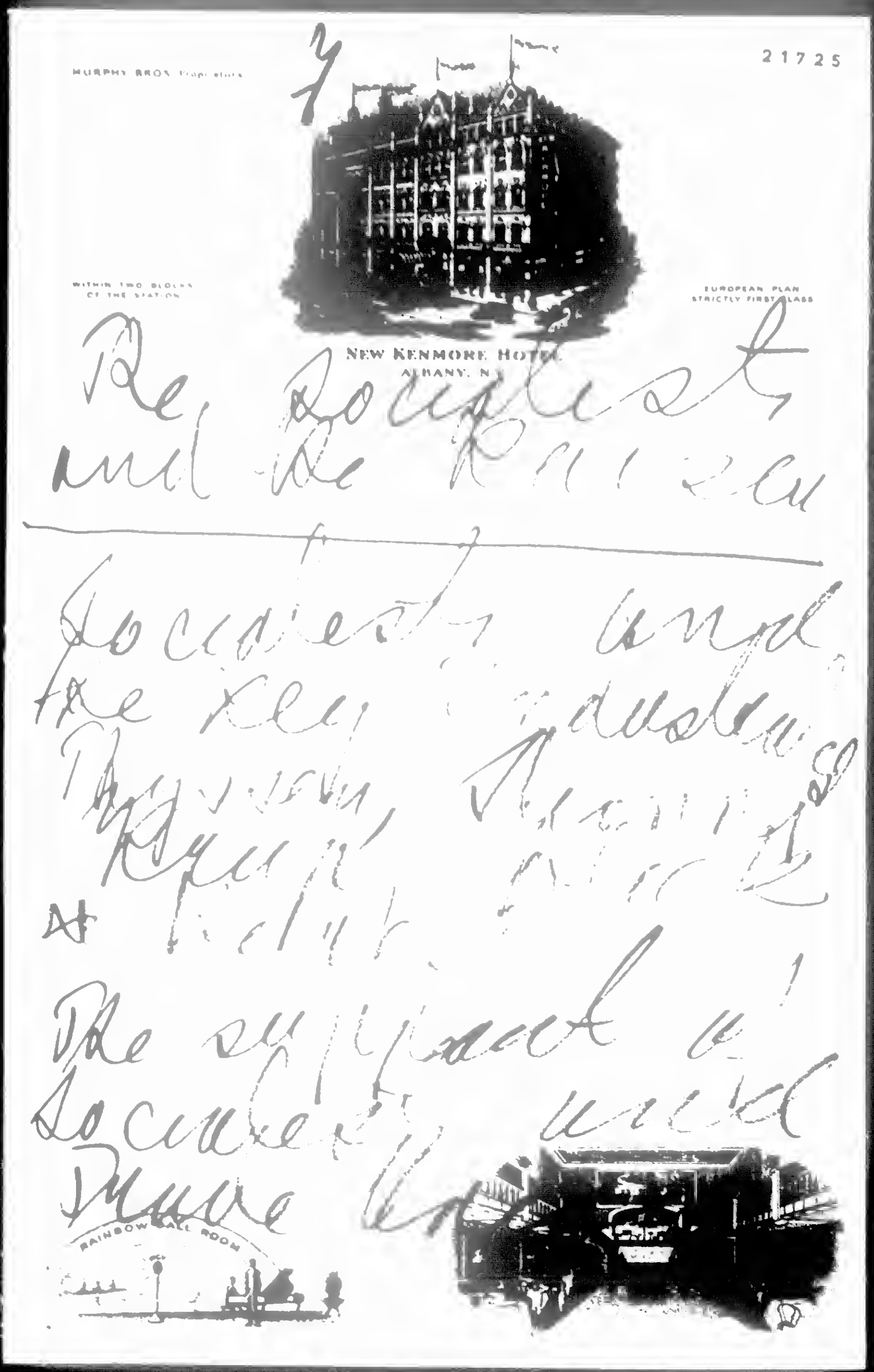

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8

Social condition
now dominated
wealth only and
fulfill their purpose
only if they express
the aspirations, needs
and ideals of humanity.
It is not given
to the state to create
by mere stroke of pen
conditions necessary
to the existence of a healthy
society. It can only
give the free expression

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21/27

"The continued
deception of all
authority and
action, have
hardened humanity
against the human
fate. Slogans
men. Declaration
of Rights and the
~~[illegible]~~ pursuit
of not the dream
of peace (~~[illegible]~~
well to himself.

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The Collapse of German Culture / Emma Goldman.– (fragment).– 26 p. ; 24 × 23 cm.

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THE COLLAPSE OF GERMAN CULTURE

I think it was the great literary historian, Taine who said "Tell me what you read, and I will tell you what you are, and what your cultural status is." ~~Literature being one of the phases of culture, I feel that I am not transgressing upon the restrictions imposed upon me in connection with my reentry to the United States.~~

Culture had come ~~to be understood as~~ man's highest achievement in his upward climb, and is the acid test of his spiritual growth. Certainly Germany represented one of the great cultural countries. Indeed, it was considered the land of thinkers and poets, and justly so. In science, literature, the drama, and music, it had reached its highest zenith during the 19th century and our own. The greater the tragedy, that it should now be denuded of all her ~~cultural~~ splendor. ~~Does~~ Is this mere accusation on my part or all those who are roused ~~in~~ indignation against the ideas and methods of the present regime.

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No less an authority than the " Fuhrer " in the Third Reich has proclaimed that Germany ~~has been~~ suffering from over education. While his Ministers of ~~Education~~ assure us that " ~~the true German thinks with his blood.~~ Art ~~in the absolute sense~~ as it had existed under the Republic cannot be tollerated in Germany now."

Mr. Hans Kinkel, State Commissioner in the Prussian Ministry of culture, reiterates his conviction, that Germany has to thank the S. A. men "Storm Troupers " for German culture. I dare say if the world will not agree with him in anything else, it ~~will~~ agree with him that the "Storm troupers" represent the only ~~logic and reason~~ in Germany today. Another personage in high position in the present day Germany is Mr. Ernst Kriek.

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Minister of Education. In his work on National Socialist Education, he maintains that the age of pure reason and free and unprejiduced science is at an end in Germany.

The Third Reich glories in the supression of individuality. It's ideal of the community is "' Er Volkischer Mensch,"' (The Aceman) stripped of perscnal traits, subordinating his knowledge and his will to the Fatherland," and Professor Schultz said, Baumberg an ex-architect turned over night into a blood expert and that, "the ~~[illegible] is not an~~ a geographic but a ethnic conception. A person's artistic taste, ~~he will have it~~, has nothing to do with his sensitiveness or asthetic response. It depends entirely on racial Weltanschung. It is the product of his blood."

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The shrine of this kind of culture and art is now in process of ~~being built~~ in Munich. It is the temple ~~to the~~ Germanic art cleaned ~~white~~ from the evil influences and tendencies of everything that is not ~~alien~~ Aryan. At the grand show when the Fuhrer laid the corner stone, he said ," There is no room in our land for cultural bolshevism." For lack of originality this term has become a cover for a multitude of sins.

The explanation for Germanic art has been given by Mr. Florentine Mann in the Volkische Beobachter, Hitler's personal organ. He writes." Once the German soul found expression in stone and wood in Gothic art. The Thirteenth century was a German century and out of the life of the Germanic soul cathedrals grew heavenward , accepted even among our Western neighbo

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opinion in the rest of the world will find it hard to agree with Mr. Hamm. For instance, Professor Talbert Hamlin of Columbia University, as a great historian and schollar of architecture, he proves that the birthplace of Gothic art was France, mer[redacted]any. No doubt Professor Hamlin is one of those awful Bolshevick of culture. Were he in Germany, he would be charged with high treason, for having suggested such an insidious thought that the purest Arian race had merely plagerized the genuis of the hated enemy- France.

I am not sure that Herr Hamm has read Prof. Hamlin's work, or that he would in the least be affected by it. He is too set in his own conception of that vague thing called the Germanic soul or Germanic culture .

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He gives us the followin, ~~better~~ wisom," Just as in the middle ages so now, mysticism is a fundemental trait of the Aryan physhology. The German becomes creative only in mysticysm. Only when the artistic creature becomes inbued with the feeling of the community of blood will he be capable to contribute to true culture. It will then not be necessary to ask "what is Germanic art."

The Middle Ages seem to be the backward goal of the present leaders ~~leadership~~ today German culture had ~~before them~~. This is ~~testi~~ ~~testified~~ to by Herr Wilhelm Schaefer, head of the Berlin Fichte Society. He was very much incensed with Roman Rowland because of the protest of the ~~latter~~ against the reversal of Germany to the barbaric middle ages. Schaefer ~~xxxx~~ declared that "the new Germany is proud, ~~proud~~ of having its roots in the middle ages.

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The Middle Ages represent Germany's pride and glory. The moment it began to reach out towards socalled progress the German soul deteriorated. For, what is this progress if not utilitarian, the aim to give man mere material advantages. The World War has fortunately put an end to the epoch of progress in the sense of humanism. "We Aryans do not hesitate to say that we wish to revert to our origin." Inigine such nonsense propounded in a society of scientists, and organization founded in memory of Fichte, the man who in his life-long appeal to the German nation had pleaded for freedom, equality and the highest conception of human progress and cultural attainments.

Such antiquated ideas explain in a measure the antagonism and hate against the Jews, for it is a fact that though they

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represent but one per cent of the sixty-five million population of Germany they ~~had yet~~ contributed to the glory of German culture ~~up to before the time Germany had been turned into a cultural desert of the Sahara~~. If the price the Jews ~~had been made to~~ pay were not so frightful, they should indeed, feel proud, their suffering bears out the high esteem the world's greatest spirits ~~have~~ expressed for the Jewish people. Foremost among them, ~~was~~ Henrik Ibsen, in a letter to the great critic, the Danish Jew, Georg Branes, Ibsen wrote," It is fortunate for all of humanity and for all lands that the Jews had not been handicapped by a State. ~~They might not have~~ contributed such wealth to the cultural achievement of the world, nor would they ~~have made~~ ~~added~~ to the literary and artistic treasures of our civilization.

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Another ~~important scholar~~ of the ~~xxxxx Jewish people is~~ M. Anatole LeRoy Beaulieu. In his "Israel Among the Nations," which appeared in 1879, he said, that " The Jews, the so called Semites proportionately speaking, have contributed more to our Aryan civilization than the Aryans themselves. I am certain that a statistical investigation of the French Institute it would be found that the French Jew numbering only two or three in a thousand inhabitants would prove that I am right."

In our own time, we have the testimony of one known to you all in this city as well as to the rest of America, indeed, even to the rest of the world, it is none other than H. L. Menchen in his Treatise of the Gods, he writes, " These same Jews, from time immemoriable have been the chief dreamers of the human race.

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and beyond all comparison its greatest poets. It was Jews who wrote the magnificant Psalms, The Songs of Solomon, and the book of Job and Ruth; it was the Jews who set platitudes to deathless music in Proverbs; and, it was the Jews who gave us the Batutitudes The s mon on the Mount, and the incomparable ballad of the Christ Child, and the 1-th Chapter of Romans. I'm inclined to believe that the scene recounted in John, viii, 3-2 11 is the most poignant drama ever written in the world, ~~and~~ the Song of Solomon is the most moving love song, and the Twenty- Third Psalm the greatest hymns.

"All these transcendent richness, christianity inherrited from the little tribe of Beouuins, so obscure and unimportant that cecular history scarcely knows them. No herritage of mouern man is richer, and none has made a more brilliant mark upon human thought, not even the Greeks."

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With such tribute from non-Jews it does not behove one coming from the Jewish people to add anything to ~~the defense~~ it. Much ~~less~~ should they gloss over the shortcomings of their people. The Jews are but human, all too human. They are heirs to the ~~same~~ follies and frailties, and often to criminal offenses. Thus it is unfortunately true that many of the German Jews have at all times in the past and are now as anti-semitic as the German ~~patriots~~. I have no doubt that they would become as patriotically devoted to the present regime as they had been to the Kaiser, if only the ~~exptx~~ OSTYUDE were driven out or persecuted in Germany. I have heard them express this view when I was last in Paris a few months ago and helped to organize relief for the unfortunate German refugees. And not only the OSTYUDE but all the others political ~~opponents~~ of the Third R...

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They are quite indifferent to the tragic fate of the Socialists, Communists, Pacificsts, Aranchists, Syndalicsists, and the entire liberal intelligentsia. They would not have raised a voice of protest against their persecution had they themselves not been ~~persecuted~~. No, the Jews are by no means angels, but that does not take away from their gr at service to culture and to humanity in ~~[illegible]~~ way.

The irony of ~~irnpt~~ ironics is that the present rulers of Germany are quite willing to accept the ~~[illegible]~~ cultural contribution of Jews, as much as they wile to. mit it to the rest of the world. Inagine, it was a Jew by the name Lessauer whose Hymn of Hate ~~[illegible]~~ the German masses into the world ~~of~~ slaughter. He was a full-blooded Jew, and he had outstripped the Germans in hate and violence against all alien enemies.

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Two other Jews, have composed Marshall Music now being incorporated in the Aryan songs, Zuckerman wrote, " Ruben am Wissenthal " Freund composed the popular war song, "Anna Marie" .

No wonder Fritz Kann, in his work, "Die Yuden als Kulturvolk " will even have it that Zuckerman's song can well take its worthy place in the German anthology of Marshall music.

More than that, it will amaze you to learn that the economic textbook which represents the National Socialist Bible was written by a Jew Professor Rubenstein. But then, with all the protested purity of Aryan blood it has never stopped the Aryans much less the peasant brand to filch from the works and ideas of other nations , Jew or non-Jew. Thus it was the French pheudo anthropologists Gobineau , and the Germanized Anglo Saxon, Houston Chamberlain, (The son-in-law of Richard Wagner) who helped

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explained

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to establish the Aryan [redacted].

Yes, the price the German Jews are forced to pay is indeed great. But they should take comfort in the thought, that without their persecution, the world would not have learned about the complete collapse of German Culture. 0

~~Only time will prove to the world~~

All that had been achieved over a period of two centuries in science, philisophy, letters, the drama, art and music ~~had~~ been banished from their ~~native~~ hearth, and their great spokesman now roaming the highways and byways of every land, condemned to ~~either from the ends of the earth or exposed in~~ hunger and destitution. Some of them are not safe even beyond the confines of their ~~our~~ erstwhile ~~homes~~ homes. Others again have been driven to suicide.

Professor Einstein is ~~badly wanted in Germany~~. Ten thousand

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gold marks represent the price on his head. The late Prof. Lessing was evidently of greater value to the Reich. The reward for his life was 80,000 gold marks. The assassin who fired the bullet through the window in the humble retreat in Czeco-Slovakia, and there are many in France and other places of asylumn who are in constant danger.

Only time will tell of the thousands and tens of thousands who have been deprived of their high positions in every institution of/learning. One would almost despair in humanity, but for the fact that many non-Jewish, scientific lights preferred to resign their posts rather than to be a silent party to the method of ~~elimination~~ elimination of those who did not fit into the scheme of the present government. The foremost among them was Prof. James Frank. of the University of Gottingen, winner of the Nobel prize,

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holder of the Iron Cross for gallant service in the last war.

A colleague of Prof. Frank, who is also not a Jew or even a Liberal has described him as a pioneer of atomic research indeed, as the greatest experimental scholar of our age.

Fritz Haber, of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin, Nobel prize winner for chemistry, resigned, although his work for gas prustrating gas attacks by means of masks, and by chemical methods, have been of the greatest importance to the Second Reich. The establishment of the Haber-Bosch method for the production of amonia from atmospheric nytrogen had prevented Germany's early break-down in the last war. Yet Prof. Haber had been harassed and persecuted until his health gave way and he died a few months ago.

In the realm of political economy, some of the renowned authorities were without warning dismissed by the new rulers in Germany.

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Among them, Professor M. J. Bonn , Ernst Kann of the University of Frankfurt, Emil Lederer of the University of Berlin, author of a number of outstanding works on National Economy, and of the Archives of Social Science and Social Research, Wilhelm Roepke of the University of Marburg, author of many socialological works, among them, "What is wrong with the World."

Of the exponents of international law, Ernst Kantarowicz of the University of Kiel, Dr. Hans Kelsen, of the University of Cologne, Karl Mannheim, of the Frankfurt University and scores of their calabre had been forced of their posts.

In medicine and psychology the greatest authorities have been forced to leave. Prof. Ferdinand Blumethal, Director of the Berlin Cancer Research Institutite, and secretary of the Central committee to combat this terrible disease can no longer contribute out of his knowledge to the care of the afflicted

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in his native land. It would be interesting to see what the Fuhrer would say if the brilliant Jewish staff of professor Blumenthal were to discover a cancer cure. Would he have the audacity to refuse the healing method for his "Storm Troupers" or would he console them with the new decree with death benefits rather than with help from Jewish forces. ~~Prof. Hober~~ Prof Hober psycholigist of note, Fritz Kauffmann of the Halle University and an authority on criminal physhology, Robert Scheller of the University of Bresleau, a renowned bacteriologist, ~~He had proven~~ too sensitive to endure the ultra humanmethods employed in Germany. He needed his own life. William Stern of the University of Hamburg, an authority on child psychology, and foremost among them all, Prof. William Zondeck, known in the medical profession, the world over for his studies of the female sex harm

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Their tremendous work has been exterminated, and the German people made poorer for that.

Philosophy and philology have been laid waste by the dismissal of their eminent representatives, the professors Cassiarier of the Hamburg University. These are only a very few of the hosts of the banner-bearers of science and philosophy in the stronghold of national Socialism. Of course it is not merely these phases of culture that collapsed in Germany in a larger degree it was literature and the drama. Who does not know the marvelous example Germany had given to the world in her galaxy of great writers, beginning with Goethe to the many who are now either in concentration camps, or refugees abroad. There are the Manns, Thomas, and Heinrich and the children of Klaus and Ericka. There are the Zweig, Stefan and Georg. There is Ernst Toller, Theodore Pleviar the author of two great work

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1912

Famous Modern Dancers

[illegible]

Isadora Duncan

[illegible]

Ruth St. Denis

[illegible]

Success" Dance

~~author of the famous work~~ Alexander Sakharoff

Goebbels, the Publicists Benjamin

de Wolf of the Berliner Tage

blatt

—SERVIDOR SERVICE—

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Les Kaiser's Kulis, as agreat a portrayal of the dreadful conditions of the German Naval forces during the war, as Remarque's Quiet on the Western Front. And a work now published in America, called " The Kaiser Went, the Generals remained." There is Anna Segher the formost woman writer in Germany, There is Hesenclever and scores of others great writers and dramatists that were caused to flee their native soil, and there are Reinhard and Jessner the two revolutionaries of the stage. They may no longer give of their rich, creative spirits to the literary and the dramatic arts, their country had excelled.

There is Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld whose place in sex-phychology was on par with Havelock Ellis, a man who had forty years pleaded the emancipation of women from the thralldom from sex superstition. The position of men and women sexually different from the ordinary run, a wonderful personality and a great humanitarian.

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When I saw him last in Paris, he lamented not his personal loss, but the loss of his great library, his archives and his institute which had been a haven of most of the hounded and persecuted victims for their sex differentiation.

There is Erick Muksam, one of the finest poets of Germany as a Jew, an anarchist and one who had been connected with the first Soviet organized in Munich after the Baravian uprising he was among the first to suffer the iron regime. His place had been raided, his library confiscated, he was beaten, his beard and hair pulled out and the swistika cut on his skull. The latest news is that he had been made to dig his own grave.

There is one of the most brilliant editors of former Germany, Von Ossitzky, the editor of the Weltvuhne, now published in Prague. It is not an exaggeration to say that Germany today represents the graveyard of culture, not only in the sense of its modern

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but its great cultural values of the past. Thus, the works of Heinrich Heine, Boerne, Lessing and many others have been eliminated from the libraries and prohibited in the Third Reich.

In the realm of art the conditions forced the venerable painter Max Liebermann to resign from the Academy of Fine Arts. It did the same to Kate Collwitz, a great artist and revolutionist. And there is Grocz, the modern daumier, he had been repeatedly persecuted and his carricatures of the present system had been supressed . Now he is entirely made impossible.

In music. while the rulers of Germany could not very well destroy the master works of Bach, Bathoven, Schubert, Schumann and the rest, it had made it impossible for the interpretive artists in music to come to Germany as they used to in the past.

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True, Herr Furchtvangler, the Minister of Music had attempted to prevail upon the artists in every country that absolute freedom of expression in music would be granted them. As if music could be separated from the rest of culture, as a thing apart. The great musicians outside of Germany with that magic conductor Toscanninna at the head realized that it was a mere trap to get them into Germany, though not a Jew, he had refused point-blank to put his foot on Nazi ground. He was followed by Hoffman, Elman, Zimbalist, Hubermann, the stand of the latter was especially superb. They were followed by Kriesler, ~~Casx~~ Casals , in fact by scores ~~of~~ of the interpretative arts. Nor must Bruno Walter or Busch be overlooked in their heroic stand about the phase of music in ~~the~~ culture ~~of~~ their ~~artwhile land~~.

In the light of this collapse, one would assume that all the creative artists in Germany would have risen as one man

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24

annihilation

in their indignation against the ~~indication~~ of a grand and marvelous culture. Alas, Judas who sold Christ for thirty silver pawns has had his followers in all times and in all lands. The present Germany is not exempt from them. Gerhardt ~~Hoffman~~ Hauptmann ~~who had~~ risen on the shoulders of the disinherrited and oppressed, who had written the most stirring social drama, "The Weavers," "Before Sunrise," "Lonely Lives," and many others that have revolutionized the drama in the early Nineties has gone over to the present regime. Thus, forswearing his entire past. Hans Heinz Ewers revolutionary of revolutionist writers has ~~sold his soul to the new rulers~~ of his country ~~he~~ is now the Court Clown and must perform at command. There is Benn one of the youngest writers who has ~~forewsorn his friend.~~ Another is Bartels, the erstwhile organizer of Communist youth. He has exchanged the moving international

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for the innane Horst Wessell song, and there are others in and out of Germany who have betrayed their birthright.

Justly, one of the exiled young German artists, Claus Mann, writes in his paper The Challenge , published in Praggue, " They, the traitors to the highest calling have honor, glory safety and wealth heaped upon them by the Hitler and his aids. We, the exiled, the modern outcasts, forced to roam the earth have neither home or roots anywheres. All we have possessed had been taken from us. And yet, we standing ~~with~~outside woult not change with the renegades within. We have the ear of the world. We prefer a thousand times to be poor, to be robbed of our homeland for a time, but we are able to sing Freedom's Songs, and to prepare for the sacred moment when Germany will rise once more and her culture will emerge Phoenix-like from the ashes of the old. . "

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1950

H I T L E R

Hitler, obsessed by the Aryan hallucination, is himself a "mongrel mixture" of various non-German nationalities. The testimony to this has been furnished by an eminent racial authority: Professor Max Gruber, who was President of the Academy of Science before Hitler came to power. He was no prejudiced Marxist, but one of the ablest heads of the Hugenberg Party, before it had been destroyed by the present regime. Prof. Gruber wrote: "The first time I saw Hitler at close range and heard him speak, I was impressed by the all too evident trait of racial mixture in him: low forehead, small and shifting eyes, ugly nose, broad chin and dark brittle hair. His moustache, specially cultivated, gives the impression of self-assurance and dominance but in reality it merely helps to accentuate his weak mouth. I was particularly impressed by the constant nervous twitching of his chin which points to lack of inner poise and strength. His high-pitched voice has volume, but lacks depth. It is indeed a voice often found in highly hysterical women"

Heinrich Mann - one of Germany's finest writers now in exile, has given an even more penetrating study of Hitler. In his work "Hate" he writes: "Hitler is

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not unlike a species of street-walker, who finds her emotional ~~culmination~~ in violence, ~~which~~ often leads to the brink of murder. His every speech is an assault upon and violation of the sensibilities of his hearers. By his naked exposure of his morbid inhibitions, he denudes his audience of what they most want to hide. His shamelessness ~~xxxxxxxx~~ paralises their sense of shame. In fact, every public function of Hitler is an orgiastic expression of sexual hysteria of the "Fuehrer", and his frenziedly roused ~~mob~~ mass."

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21/2 1952

Konrad Heiden recent
Biography of Hitler
shows that the madness
of the capitalist system
until the war had never
been able to find a
place for himself or
even a decent living.
He whatever he attempted
failed, and it was this
frustration which corroded
Hitler's mind. He
was filled with Hatred
for his native land, Austria
of the Intelligentsia, for
the Jews although he never
had a disagreeable experience
with Jews.

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3 1953

Hitler began life as a fairly good house-painter, but his megalomania sought for greater honours in the arts. He was refused admission in the Academy of Arts, because of his mediocre talents, thus frustrated and overtaken by the war, Hitler exchanged his palette and brush for the gun.

Hitler tells us Mein Kampf he kept neat pay & married and all

At the front our hero excelled mainly in eluding danger. He returned to his humdrum life with much bitterness, rancour and hate in his heart against the world that had denied him greatness, when he was so sure of being great.

Strangely enough, it was the German Revolution that gave Hitler his first chance. He joined the Reichswehr an

Jul Karling Kenes

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3/2 1954

by his own preference he was assigned to the secret service Dept. His sworn duty was to ferret out enemies of the republic. In this capacity, he soon met his fate, and then embarked on the career of "Executioner of the Republic".

Ten years of persistent [illegible] and generous financial support [illegible] enabled Hitler to realise beyond wildest dreams the ambitions of his youth.

There was a moment in his march to power when his counter revolutionary designs might have been checked; it was when he stood in the criminal dock for his participation in the Kapp putch, and also because of the charge of having accepted substantial funds from the Comité des Forges, the large French Steel combine. But a Republic that had retained all the reactionary elements and the Hohenzollern regime could not be expected to have the will and the determination to crush its mortal enemy in the bud. Hitler and his fellow counterrevolutionary bandits came away with hardly a scratch and in due time stabbed the Republic in the back. The German Revolution since Hitler's ascendancy, has been bleeding from a thousand wounds.

Hitler's [illegible] to be avenged

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The 4 x way 1955

Mention of Hitler Dictator Extraordinary

The leader of National Socialism

He is regarded as Raising and

by the presence of Hitler and

Hess in one of the Beer houses

in Munich,

I need it mention the term

it is the Nazi it and the

rise of the man, the leader,

and success of Hitler,

no angry hatred against

the Jews.

This man would regard

it a malicious word

to a malicious word,

an hyena. He must

no intelligence mental power

represent. He must stupid

insane in the mind. He must

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1956

he sees and a mistaken. He
must take the guilt, a
little the responsibility of
those of them, such
a man as Goebbels by
a dozen profound why
humble man very difficult
yes a magnet, a wonderful
personality, which we
had get the [illegible]
Hardly after the [illegible]
speech [illegible] not [illegible]
of the [illegible]
[illegible]
and send
him with the way to
[illegible]

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6 1937

But with all that Hitler
was made not born
He was made by
the forces outside
of him
The Versailles treaty
The Revolution
imposed by the
allies on Germany
The Junker-
dynasty
and the lack of
determination
of the social Democracy
to make Unity
in Germany

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1958

4

Every the Communists
in Italy by any
methods should
help to save
the way for Hitler
Over and above
was, of course
Communists,
of the Kuyp,
the Pozzani,
& even the Comrade
de Lacy C.
It took Mussolini
5 years to reduce
the revolutionary
elements in Italy
Hitler finally danced

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into power. There was no pulse and there is no pulse in the heart of the land, a massacre in Germany.

The Jews by no means the only victim. Everybody knows, still persists, German land is being ~~turned~~ into a ~~underground~~ Hitler power

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HITLER AND HIS COHORTS-THEIR WORLD MENCAE

Last week I discussed the socio-political forces that made German National Fascism possible. But while these explain the inception, growth and advent of that black scourge they are not suffrient to explain the extraordinary savagery of Hitler and his Cohorts.

xx~~Fortunately~~ Fascism is brutal whereever it had made its appearance. The Matteottis and the thousand of other vicitms of Mussolini done to death by his henchmen and those filling his concentration camps can testify to that. And yet the blackshirted ~~gangsters~~ in Italy are gentlemen compared with the visious and barbarous elements that had overtaken Germany.

~~InnxfromattypcofxhitlerxandxhisxCohortsxpointxto~~

Their ferocity point to deeper causes than merely economic or social, causes ~~deeply~~ rooted in the very nature of the ~~men who now guide the~~ ~~shxxxxxxx German State.~~ ~~Indeed the very nature~~ of the

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the men who ro[illegible] the German ship of state ~~and who had from~~ the ~~[illegible]~~ offered such a lure to their ~~secrets~~.

Before [illegible] In Germany itself thinking people had known that the largest percent of the leading men in the National Socialist party are abnormal types, men with pervers ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ tendencies and distorted visions. ~~The~~ ~~[illegible]~~ And that their ~~[illegible]~~ lure found easy responce from the depths of society afflicted by the same degenerate traits.

The German Press had repeatedly streesed this fact. And every day would bring new proofs to support the charges made against the personal of the ~~National Socialist~~ Nazi party.

The hated Marxist news-papers had by no mean been the only publication to point to the cancer

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scores of other bourgeois publications had time on end repeated the same charge. Indeed the harrowing murders of Potemtic or the atroc[illegible] brut lities perpetrated on innocent and defenseless being by that monster Ermund Heines represented incontestable proof of the criminal and ~~degenerate~~ make up in the Nazi ranks. [illegible] Nor is it merely a question of of the rank and file. [illegible] Hitlers public expression of solidarity and approval of these perpetrated bestilailites [illegible] had left no doubt that he and his cohorts had [illegible] played a directing part in every political outrage. Thus the London Referee had hit the nail on the head when it wrote that [illegible] very low mentality

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" The Barbarous character of the personal of National Socialism indicates a limited mental calibre and very low moral fiber"

This had been substantiated by a number of leading spychatrists in Germany when they had not yet been gagged, and by a number of eminet psychologists in Enland. Having made a study of at close range of the Nazi Phobias they agreed that the largest number of the leaders were Perenoics whose distored vision saw in the Jew and in everybody who refused the new Messiah in them the very incarnation of all the evils in the world.

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22015

Case in point is Goering

Already in 1925 Goering had to be put away in an in sane asylum. An habitual morphine adict he had become stark mad when his favorite drug had given out. Goering had been found roaming the streets of Stockholm brandishing a [illegible] gun and firin bullet after bullet into terr orised and fleeing pedestrians.

Already then his diseased rain had been haunted by Jews, Frenchmen and Russian whom he would exterminate ~~tried to destroy~~. ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ For want of his imaginary foes he had attacked the doctors and nurses near him and had to be kept in a straightjacket for some time. Goerings public speeches, his writings, in [illegible], his brutal outbreak [illegible] in the Leip ~~zig trial~~ [illegible] against Dimitrof in the Reichstag fire trial, his attacks, impotent with his knowledge of consent, prove that his

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and done, him no
good whatever.
Germany has remained
a Pariah consumed
by hate against
Jews, as well many
Jews and people
of all kinds and
~~[illegible]~~

If all the music
curses uttered
on Germany the
modern Pappenheimer
is the deadliest

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22017

21

Goebbels Nazi Minister of Propaganda is my pet aversion. Hitler ~~[illegible]~~. Despite his, you would be hard set at the feet of one of his teachers. Gen. a ~~man~~ ~~of~~ great scholar, a man of ideals and humanism.

Since his "Dupes" [illegible] I had also

215

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22

appeared to a
Nickle in Reaut.
Literature and
drama had been
his Muse. He
itself had been
walking engaged
But his talents
had not been
very strongly
overshadowed
by so many
first rate writers
who had sprung up and
unheralded and
unsung by them

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22019

23

Be had returned
neither from the land
his experience
a patriot disillusioned.
His unfortunate
complexes also his
physical defects,
a clear head and
a smooth and speckly
body ~~armed~~
helped incite
to increase Goebbels
rancour against
all those who refused
[illegible]
and [illegible]

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23

Be had retired within himself

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22021

24

His name came
at last - in the
National Socialist
movement. He
had naively
forgotten, this
he learned to
school with all
his allies, he felt
envy, hate
against ~~his~~ the
the Nazi leaders
to see that modern
had no place in
this movement.

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25

Lotte Eucken
has come into
not as a Thomas
but Hermann
Mann, a teacher
having been in a
at least just
the moment
of a letter from
Margarita Mann

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24

Rosenberg, the Reich
chairman of National
Socialism, is at
the moment the
most influential man
in the Nazi movement. It is
really he who has
hatched the "communistic
up-heaval" the
Chancellor notes
that, besides
in the disparaging
of International
Genocide

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22024

-2 ~~4~~

Rosenberg is a
~~[illegible]~~ dubious
& shady character
He is of German
Baltic origine
~~[illegible]~~ taken em
mc angrapp y name
for a well loaded
~~[illegible]~~ [illegible]

Running the big
Hess investigation
had repeatedly
been thrown in
the German Press
~~[illegible]~~ trying em
~~[illegible]~~ with French

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22028

28

with active French agent against Germany. Stage he leaned, in fact in fact, urging that had taken up the old German ~~attitude~~ accusation! Now just as keen den Rosenberg could have easily avoided himself the German blood saw. But can always just remain in himself the Nazi attitude

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to challenge Hitler
~~very~~ ~~[illegible]~~
The truth is Roosevelt
very did pure truth
not like a open Enemy
He had strainedly
all his skill to
produce the illusion
to U.S. Europe many
to convince the Russian
Revolution.
He had never let
up on his venetian
design.
At all times the
League not the
Nazis, forces against

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22027

31

his volume
Russia de Paul
Lect recently pseudo
a Plan to ~~tear~~
the Humanity with
Communism as per
the epic upside
to tear the Temple
the Christian Faith
Russia was in
Her wrath Gum
Be had end slept
Stand o Cooperation
in Spain Fascism
the Pacify Cupidity
Not content the
next Flesse of media

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32

atrocities, Rosenberg had also hoped for aid from more favorable quarters—the Petroleum Magnates of Europe. This man and his clique had been favored by the Soviet Government for the usage of the oil interests in the Oil Wells in Baku. A successful in

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38

33029

vassau of the
Ukrainian W guard
of Canada clear
the way to Barce
Cet any rate these
schemes brought
Russenfeeling to
England, as it
made, as you see
the understrike clauses
retogen in
a Delerung. The
Marps, to the
regulations
the Rules & Federal
Laws in the

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22030

34

Case Reynolds
Illustrates how
[illegible] Nazi
[illegible] Let
[illegible] the U.S.
Reporters secret knowledge
now. Release my
necessary knowledge. This
article indicates
in Landpage
against the Nazi
of happiness made
[illegible] not
for assembly
[illegible]

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35

after his very brief
unwelcome visit

Poor Herr-Menschen
Gay Hitler in
Germany
is perhaps more
dangerous than
the Kaiser had
not so long ago
been invited
in a hasty grande
as commandant
of his dominions
he had made
stenuous amorous

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36

advances for his men, officers as well as soldiers. However, his homosexual proclivities would not necessarily make him a menace to the rest of the world. His dangerous sin is his megalomania, strong if not at times speak Salva

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34

the most stirring commentary on Hitler and his cohorts is ~~Rudolf~~ the himself a educated Herr Rust

Three years ago I had seen stretched men torture some brave u. had to resign, Otto Nasse, as leader

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22034

38

The cause of this
malady had been
traced to that
devastating venereal
disease syphilis.
In the incredible
urgent of the
latter, it suddenly
of the Jewish race
Verily a gift
present the hy
gienic change of
the educated mind
of the Aryan Jew
the on the. Kaye
the Nazi's of
the world doubt

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38

of the Intellectuals
not quite so
rude in broad
as Prust.

Just is the
man who has
power & Germany
the Intellectual
Class. Reason,
Justice, Welfare
don't count in the
face of the
Just Power that
is made

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26 ~~Feb 39~~ 1/2
asylum in Florence
lands
homes, France
to flee Geu
nature land

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The truly Emma Goldman
very ~~was~~ generally
on the Hitler Rogues
Gallery is now
dominated by Edmund
Heine, Nazi
Murderer of the
Brownshirt Police
force of Munich.
He had been
among the Leftists
wounded pursuing
by the huge
waters of the
war. Force of

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22038

Heines must have been depraved before he got his training in the business of murder. [illegible] no experience even the dehumanizing as 4 years War produces such ~~savagery~~ a monster as Heines.

~~But~~ He joined the group of professional [illegible] murderers

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212

My his former
Secret Office
Gestapo, and
Wants, of Army
Gen. Since
1920 every Political
murder in Germany
had our hands
Much association
Hesses stand
out up the
Sadistic methods
He used to force
his victims to

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43

some hands are
~~seen~~ isolated spots
where there ~~to~~
remain to incredible
humiliation, unspeakable
suffering. There is
to be no end of freedom
torture, then
press his gun
to the back of the
head — the trigger
will pull the trigger
the fiend and poisoned
medical death and
released them

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Mussolini

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1943

Mussolini, modern
"All for the State,
Nothing outside
or against the
State!" Hitler calls
his personal
conception "all
for national local
ends. Nothing
aside of or
against it
As Russia grows
and gets, let us
hope, refrain
in the future

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1944

Mussolini
Edgar Lederer
from parades
Local Heavies
passeum da,
nothing organi-
zed. It must
Necessary rely
on the brutal,
at its mercy
to wear near
gaence of subjugat
the masses - to
well
~~the Fascist state~~
is

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16. 1945

Human memory is short, indeed. The atrocities, in German blemished the memory of Stalin's atrocities. People are actually beginning to see that Mussolini's regime, in most respects, was far more merciful than the Russian spoked as the Soviets. Just as the Soviet Dictatorship had precedented pogroms

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1946

Well, what
that, Italy has
made no Jewish
pogroms nor
Russian
but Italy
pogrommed all
the Russians in
Italian people
the leader on book
countryes gave
medly asl - It's
destroys concept
in Peters of thousands
in prisons, can
centration Camps

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1947

~~12~~ 6

Espana a Rolandsjö

Volunt

The Radeli parade
and the SS
may not have
been quite so
grande as Hitler
Bauppen-fest
Per Hoo ded. a
Grandsamling by
Alex Nicholas

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1940?

All say & by the
Dictatorship. Nothing
outside of my
against it. The
method, the force
used follows empha
lead to the same
result. Coercion
force, terror
extermination
of political opponents,
suppression of every
vestige of freedom
in every phase
of human life

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1949

1

Mussolini and the State

Those individuals who are against the state, that is against the state form of the state, not against the principle of statehood. I am an active anarchist because they drop the nature of the least.

The state was the formulated human ~~state~~ called Machine

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1929

2

gives free rein to the development of character. The State was learnable when it was content to act only the night watchman, & police, But today the State is occupying at once all human activities, the capitalist, insurance agent, postmaster, business man, merchant, house builder, money lender, as well as policeman judge and jailer all in one and exploiting

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1949

The Day the State
is a Moloch with
heavy piggy eye
face It sees, all,
controls, all, directs
all and dictates
everything wrong
of every function
of the State is a
dictatorial dressed
State controlled art,
State controlled school
and State controlled
commodities. everything
The State is a lerry
lying machine

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4

which swallows
every men and
all things. Even
dead, ~~it is human~~
Human life has
its ~~human~~ ~~and~~ ~~human~~ ~~and~~ ~~human~~ ~~left~~
~~and~~ education in
the spiritual and
material human
life can exist
~~to~~ governed ~~today~~
like equity, law,
human rights etc.
state in any form
no matter what

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Mussolini
~~Mussolini and the State~~
~~State of yesterday~~
~~as today a tomorrow~~
~~the dangers and~~
~~the accident that~~
must ~~of~~ to day Mussolini
~~is the Jangerution~~
~~and prey day of~~
~~the State of States~~
~~the ultimate~~
~~State~~ totalitarian State must raise from
~~banner is the~~
~~straight jacket~~
~~whose prisons and~~
~~filled with the bravest~~

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spirits, whose correct
solution are crowded
with men & woman
because they would
not submit to the
erstwhile radical
socialist turned
quitter, judge
and persecutioner
all in one

To day Mussolini's
slogan is,
"everything for
the State, nothing
against the State

251

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Mussolini

Born of poor peasant ~~parents in a shoemaker's, often~~ ~~by father imprisoned,~~ ~~from his social ideas.~~ ~~The son brought up~~ ~~in a small village~~ ~~of Italy but passionate~~ ~~discussions of~~ ~~Socialism and~~ ~~the liberation of~~ ~~the proletariat~~

At twenty Mussolini was one of a group of young people who carried on intensive propaganda in Italy a that led

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1929

#8

of revolutionary ideas
He regarded Mussolini
and Garibaldi
as a revolutionary
and saw only
his share
in escape military
service in which
he imprisoned.
Hence he used to
audio all sorts
of lies in the defence
of his ideas. He
share his followers,
fascism. He
denounced and
excommunicated

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1945

9

Many of his comrades
he contributed, [illegible]
He was eventually
expelled from Italy,
and
England that only
increased his
fame & his great
which reflected him
repeated arrests,
and imprisonment
At 1916 saw in the
real activities of Italy
through the publication
of his paper Italia
di classe, the class
strategy. In these

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#10

1949

Columns Re Fascist
the returning so
his party always
according the need
of maintaining
authority & methods
by Fear-that if he
until he sold his
that cry Kept
Pressing at the other
Mussolini became
the inspiring and
defender of every
individual & cry
and of direct action
extend to every other

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of violence as well as direct, revolutionary mass action."

The author of Mussolini Reads like a lucid, quotes innumerable speeches of Mussolini wherein he denounce as cowardly any attempt of a militant opposition. He most emphatic his and his denial of all he had to say publicly proclaimed, subsequently decided he I'll a equally him from their ranks

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12

1929

Whether it was his burning hatred of his erstwhile comrades or his pathological hunger for fame and glory which had not been satisfied in the Kremlin, he was in the Mussolini office of Fascist to bring Italy into the fold. I can only say. I think all three factors motivated Mussolini's summersault. I am ~~the~~ agreed that socialism is the deadly enemy and defender of the World slaughter

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13

1929

10 a.m. each meeting during the duration of the war.

In July 1924 Mussolini was in the wanton killing spree in his triumph at the murderous at all nations in circumspect and to limit the armed influence usequal only to the triumph of mutilism and the paranoic energies of the Bourgeoisie.

258

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14

1949

You Italian workers
who have, when
dying: "The general
strike and the
employment law
is one more of
class consciousness
and sacrifice, you
must not get ready
to resist,
because, instead
the Fascist, national
adventure of the
In left, the same
year Mussolini

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1939

~~9~~ ~~16~~ 15

Hitler came to power, came in, boasted a vile, vicious speech.

Herr Hitler then turned to Italy and ~~attacked~~ hurled at the people of Italy the most ~~insulting~~ vicious ~~appeal~~ campaign he could ever hurl against his ~~opp~~ opponents after him. Mussolini ~~kept~~ called "his" ruled a vocalist Daily

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16

1949

He was a great enough
to know that, by
making me see my
mistake. He also
had, in his mind, the
idea that a genuine
revolution should
free us for ever
from all.

If he, Lenin, had
he was asked from
the radical, they
it is regrettable that
he left, the meaning
not of the ~~[illegible]~~ would
of the [illegible]

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16 1/2 1949

It was then that Mussolini was expelled from the P.P. of Italy.

It has become my an eye witness that after being hooted off the platform at the meeting which ~~was~~ had decided on his expulsion Mussaline dealt pale as with trembling lips cried "We will meet again. Then we will see who is stronger. Yes we will meet again"

~~It was the first time in Mussolini's life to keep his word.~~

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I already said that it was French money which brought about the treachery of Benito Mussolini and paved his way to Fascism and his ~~war~~ bload and war regime.

In this way Mussolini Red re. Bruce Bayhi has again after incontrovertible evidence a letter from Henry Torrey - great French barrister, now lamentably deceased explain why Mussolini was bought by France.

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1949

a community life where
Fascism was unknown
No had came to
Italy years of a great
unemployment, misery
in view of the severe
and it ended quite
M. Dumas, secretary
of the Italian Consulate
Genoa. We had enough
Mussolini, is all
France be the asylum
of all and each person
as well see the
Socialists, one now
two now

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1949

B 27 19

a recent Communist
Lent Remoetre, to
the French people
a demagogic Real
Camrade Mussolen
But the Spani-
sh old guy, good
Nieve, quapil-ke
hune, I M
gets at the Juta
the Locals are
non meaning what
they have down

265

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20

1949

Mussolini and the State

Mussolini is a very
[illegible] Knight
[illegible] Medal of Knight
way and received up
the cap, map, and
cannot [illegible] in
place in the can
Nay, we can conceived
state of duty. He
organized Dante
de Vasco [illegible]

266

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1949

91

Mussolini and the State

Fascism is a reactionary
movement which
attempts to
perpetuate the
Dominance of
capital, in which
case the Fascist
system of government
is the still of 19th
century and
already seen great
equipped with arm
of men could Duce
Duce was indeed
experimental
base for the Fascist
system of government

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1949

CH 22

against the proletarian
Russia and revived
a, in fact, even of
all the middle class
[illegible] Russian
[illegible] and the rise
[illegible] the war
[illegible] any [illegible] can
be claimed
the Russian [illegible]
[illegible] anti
[illegible] [illegible]
at that time [illegible]
was [illegible] appeared
in [illegible],

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23 1949

Mussolini
and the State

Just that one word
because the
whole world
knows it completely
He made more
people laugh at his own
expense than
any Tsar and yet
that been can't
be called a tyrant
~~democratic~~ ~~dictatorship~~
~~democracy~~ ~~the~~ ~~very~~
who actually called

269

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~~29~~ 24 1939

Mussolini to Rome
because he had
been elected by
the people but he
gives power to
~~[illegible]~~ no ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ he news leading
the Prime ministry
to a very human thing
Mussolini meanwhile
waited all the
in vain and
masses call and
even when in a very hard
in a campaign
politman deeply came

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1949

The general notion current is that Mussolini came in power step by step from socialism to anarchism to fascism.

In point of fact, Mussolini ~~in~~ until he ascended to fascist power in 1922. Until the numerous sides of the movement, as well as the revolutionary

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1949

26

Italy is governed
by the masses
of mass murder
that became
fascism. And became
an army, a police
force, and a court
of magistrates. Only
modern slavery in the
name of democracy
that he put down
the general strike
by torture, lynches
raids and lynchings
a reign of murder

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1949

27

and the coercion and
of everyone in this
way, from the power
and most innocent
workers in the out
standing men
of the type of thinking
that was
all against mass
of the world and
that Bergh Bergh
was already widely
spread at the time

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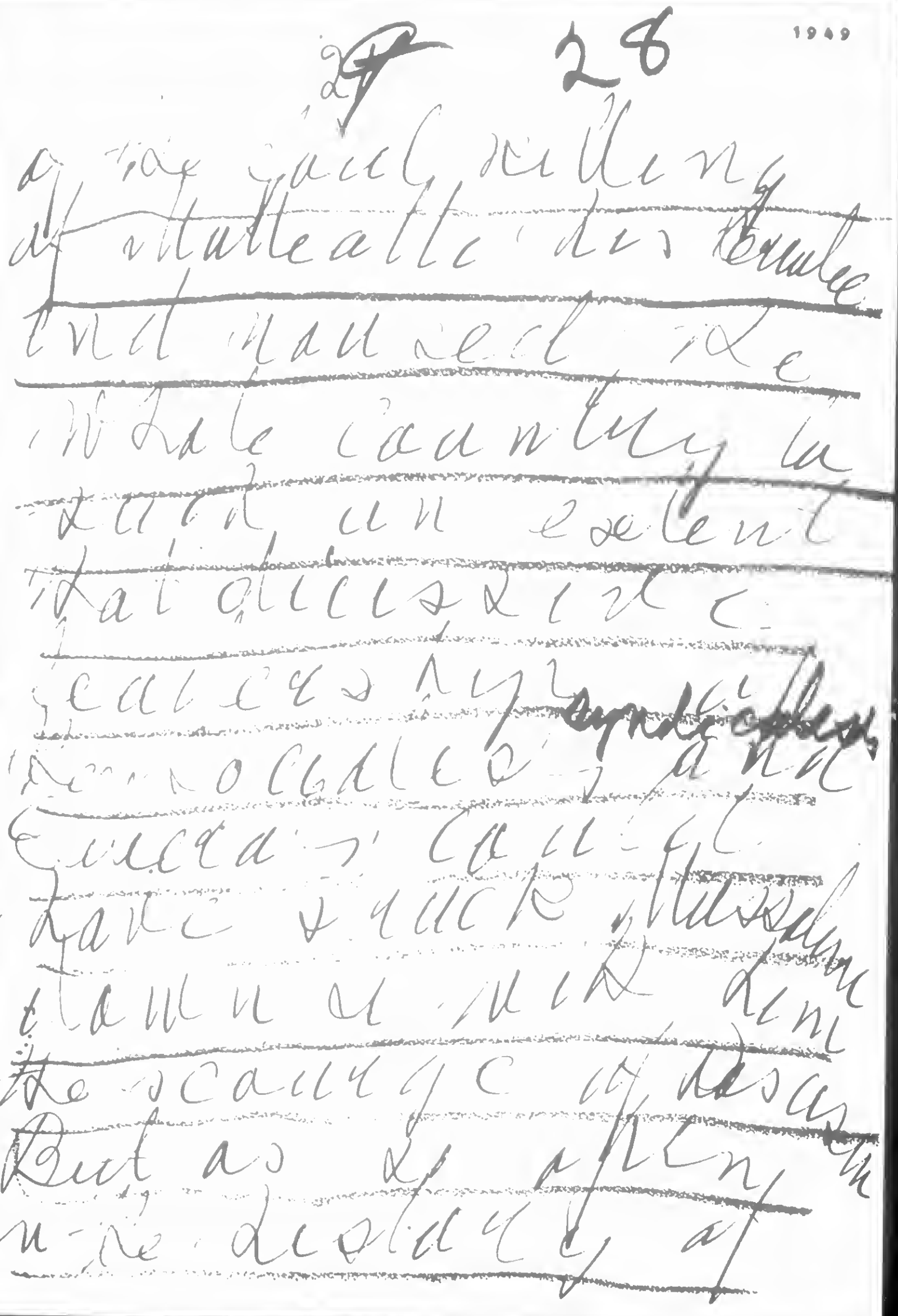
1949

28



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1949

Socialism and Fascism. They dare not decide by parliamentary means. They spread their influence while their very edifice is up in flames. Thus Mussolini unchecked while not long ago, practically at the moment of his own triumph, and to spread terror throughout Italy

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1949

~~19~~ 30

That part is not
quite in Mussolini's
damage. is best
proved by his
invasion of Ethiopia.
The escape of the
need of foreign
fun-de, open gradem
popular can ~~is~~
to Mussolini's also
for any intelligent
person to believe
for it was Mussolini
who imposed on
States women to
voluntary need of
incessant child bearing

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1949

31

Mussolini is desperately needed this war - not keeping in check the ever growing discontent at home.

However the Duce seems to have taken off a larger share than his gluttonous hunger can pay quest with of dem degree

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32 1949

It is not at all surprising, that his power and study man in Mussolini may have his tragedy at the same time.

It is merely in spite of the rising that the State is name[d] here necessarily successful can deny anti-war demonstration. That we have discovered of soldiers in at Rome or at the Grand

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have already matured.
It only needs the
few more setbacks,
of his imaginary and
the paper tiger Mussolini
may, in railway
in the mud, and
with him his mur
derous regime

I said, the revolution
takes truly and
the communists
revolutionaries can
the delay of the
collapse of fascism
that they organized
an International

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1949

37

Labor Party call against Mussolini protest of coming to the support of the government in the parliament of the labor forces of Italy may go angry as it May 18

However the great general purge of all ~~dictatorship~~ ~~dictators~~ the world knows this so well as the Duce. Hence his desperate effort to avert the

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Stalin / Emma Goldman. – (fragment). – 6 p. ; 26 × 19 cm.

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1961

Stalin was born in Gori, a small town near Tiflis. Dec. 21 in 1879. His father was a poor shoemaker. It is said that he was made to work very hard at his trade, and he remained, which marked his character. His mother dreamed that one day he would become a priest. He grew up in his native

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1962

2

Rule in Russia. He became a prisoner, his image, his voice, a literary, the subject, a whole and political. Stalin cancelled, the communist party as a movement and in Stalin, he had made, the deep state, the creator of, bringing the whole into an army of steel. The mother of Stalin was strange in an respect, she did not know that the century had passed. She most assuredly did

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1963

(3

not purged, even
as the great exterminator
did not, cause, that
the twentieth century
would produce
a modern image of
tyranny, madness, [illegible]
and nuisance.

Stalin was revered
even the palace priest
praised and recalled
the temerity and a
[illegible] of
dictatorship in this
Bid the exaltation
spread as the news
had already reached
the Soviet capital

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4 1564

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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41/2 1965

He was in exile
practically expelled
He became a leader
respected in the party
time and practically
he served as the
chief representative
as political leader
to deal an intimately
of Lenin a close
of Lenin who had
stepped a term / in
of banishment in
Siberia with him
Dunaevsky was
his name. Stalin
became one of his

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1960

Most people have gained the childish idea that true communism means eating the same food from the same plate and with the same spoon. On saying the same bathing suit in point of this argument, call, for the suggest individualization and variation of cultural taste and wishfulness. Communist production have the greatest incentive for the greatest achievement with the least expenditure of time & energy. Outside of that it guarantees individual liberties & rights as

"THE SAME SONG AS HITLER'S, MUSSOLINI'S, IN FACT EVERY GOVERNMENT.

SO MUCH FOR EVERYTHING "GETTING BETTER" IN THE U.S.S.R.

38

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1965

Stalin even then, as now, was not distinguished by talkettiveness. Gravity, accuracy and clarity were his distinctive qualities. His absolute carelessness of his own private comfort, and his inner hardness made this young revolutionary an authority among the Tiflis workers.

Stalin never sought personal popularity. The circle of his persistent activity he limited exclusively to the working men, and that of his underground co-workers.

Stalin was repeatedly arrested but had the marvellous gift of escaping. It was in fact his imprisonment that moulded his character. Always cradled in an environment of terror, nursed on repression and intolerance, the son of the poor shoemaker was thrown into the ranks of revolutionary conspirators. He did so under a number of aliases, but those who stuck to him most were those of: "SOSO" and "KOB." and "STALIN" which in Russian means "steal". His real name was DJUGASHVILI.

The ethics of Bolshevism as outlined by Lenin found their deepest expression in Stalin. Like his master and teacher, he discarded all Revolutionary ethical conceptions, justifying every means, no matter how

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STALIN 1966

reprehensible

~~deplorable~~ for the end. For well did Lenin say, when he was accused of sheltering in his party expropriators and bandits, "when the Revolution comes all these will be with us on the barricades. ~~A safe blower will be~~ more useful than Plekhanov. Ours is a great household, and in such all kinds of rubbish come in handy".

Lenin

Stalin, as his teacher maintained that the ~~proletariat stands for the masses~~, the Party stands for the leaders, and Stalin in particular has proven that the Party signifies a monopoly of an arbitrary group of ~~professional revolutionists~~ party members. Lenin ~~at least~~ spoke of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, in reality, however, he aimed at the dictatorship of his Party. Under the slogan of the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" the dictatorship of one Party was installed. The dictatorship of the proletariat naturally evolved into a police power of the government: a centralised authority that became more inhibited with fear and with the idea of power than the absolutism which had nourished it so long.

Stalin has gone his master one step. He changed the term the Dictatorship of the Proletariat for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which has an entirely different meaning,

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Stalin said in the war 1967
was anything - 3 - lied, complained
he committed himself - he defended
Such seem one of the mannerisms of Stalin

because of a well concealed but real physical deformity
he was granted exemption. The hands that were to rule
Russia were not able to wield a rifle. The Army Medical
examiner found that Stalin's left hand was warped: it
would not open. His biographer advances the modern
psychological explanation to the effect that the iron
law of Bolshevism is not Stalin's nailed right fist at
all, but that impotent left hand dressed in a glove of
steel. Stalin talk of assist
any country he was was not
his arts deviation, by anymeans
After the March Revolution and the abdication of the Tsar,
Stalin, Kamenev and Muranov - members of the Central
Committee of the Bolshevist Party - made perpetrated a
"coup" in the administration of "PRAVDA" : they took
it out of the hands of the junior Petrograd leaders.
Stalin's first signed article appeared in the "Pravda"
of March 27th, 3 weeks before Lenin's triumphant
re-entry of Russia. The article was milder than
anything written by the Left Mensheviks and caused
considerable consternation among the workers. This
proves that Stalin at the time was far from the "fire and
flame" of his master, and that he was willing to comprom-
ise at the first chance. Indeed, already at that time,
Stalin spoke of the "people" not the "proletariat". The
Provisional Government, headed by Prince Lvov, Prof.
Milukov and Gutchkov, all Constitutional Monarchists,

and he never reach the Rank

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1968

G

The plan of attack
against recently
declared war
against Vietnam
by Vietnam
Quinlan
David

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

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6 1969

He knew, he would
get what he really
wanted, but it
took time.
That time came
when Lenin
died. The
main thing now
was to generate
his inner circle
of many leaders,
Kamenev, Zinoviev
Trotsky
Stalin began to
take by keeping
Trotsky in a minor
of Lenin's death

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1979

Decree to penalize those who take of State property 10 years imprisonment

Decree of the death penalty for absence of members of their family

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2 1971

Decree restoring the prerogative in military units

Stalin and French mutinies

The Union of Defeat Commission versus French Revolt

293

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1572

Decree nationalizing
Peasants by many
former serfs
quarters

"Against General
and Police, Former
landlords and
Bourgeoisie
and deep the
former, deep
grasped the
Soul general the
Soviet Government

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1973

Dear Sidney

of years.

The decree does not include the left elements in Russian numerous prisons and concentration camps

In any event democracy is mere mockery as under the dictatorship.

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1974

Stalin and
Bakunin
Democracy
Stalin and
Lenin and
Bolshevik
Marxian system
destroy any
all class, af-
equality
Stalin and the
new army, uniform

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Dictatorship, Bolshevist and Fascist] / Emma Goldman.– [1934?, fragment].– 11 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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21879

master who was Karl Marx as a renegate had become more anto Marxian than the most rabid opponents of the teachings of Marx. However Hitler on the other hand had never had a single solitary idea for human better ment. ~~danaelyxignerant~~,nor had he ever suffered for it A bully and a brute he knows how to play on the lowest traits in mass spychology. Neither he nor Mussolini could lace Lenins boots.

~~Yetxstrangextxxxy~~ But while Lenins brand of Dictatorship and that of the Italian and German ~~haxx~~ in theory ~~xrex~~ can not be compared, in methods unfortunately they meet, and have the identical effect upon the peoples who are coerced into submission to their res pective regime.

And yet Bolshevism as Lenin and his comrades conceived before the October Revolution and during its first period [illegible] Fascism [illegible] appropriate [illegible] purpose of revolution. [illegible] Italy and helped Lenin to power.

Fascism in Italy and Hitlerism in Germany have swung themselves into the government saddle by

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No profounder truth has come to us in recent years. But its very profoundity makes it so hard from most people obsessed by the abretion of dictatorship to see its real nature

My purpose tonight is to show you the real nature of the beast in the hope that you may see its savage appetites which nothing but the annihilation of the individual as an independent factor in social life.

First, dictatorship can not ~~possibly~~ be excersised by a whole people. If that were possible there would be no one to dictate to. Its function is therefore limited to a political party. But even the Party if it becomes numerous can not successfully dictate for very long. For instance, in Russia it was never at any time the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was not even that of the Communist Party. Theoretically it was held the power held by the Party Central Committee. Actually, the inner circle of the committee called the politbureau. Yet even this body was not the real dictator. For in the polit bureau there were different views on every question, as there must be when there are many heads.

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Let us analys the nature of both Fa~~scism and~~ Dictatorship whether from the Left or the Right.

First, Dictatorship ~~may~~ can not be practiced by a whole people, always a small political party, and that mosty in the hand of an executive committee. And gradually the complete power of Dictatorship in the hands of one. In Lenins time it was he. Now it is Stalin who wield the only power over 160 Millions people.

The same the case in Italy and now in Germany. ~~Invariably Dictatorship of one means the elimination of the best and ablest elements in the party~~

Secondly, Dictatorship rests on the ~~idea~~ fixed idea that terror, coercion and force can educate a whole people to free initiative and constructive work.

This is as fallacious as the antequated idea that the rod is the best means to bring up a child. ~~Well~~ No pedagogue to day would advance this babarous method any more. Yet Dictatorship means that for adult humanity and is being defended as the most effective means.

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In Mussolini's hands his dictatorship rests upon the mania of Ceasarism. In Russi political conditions reverted t to autocracy.

Secondly.

The idea fixe that by terror, cocercion and force an ople can be trained for free initiative, for con structive work is as preposterous ~~that~~ as the idea that the rod and the black chamber are educative methods for children. More and more the world is getting away from that baberous notion that the better the use of the rod, the better educated and the finer the child will be. Yet masses of people ~~xxxx~~ hold fast to the antequated idea that the rod is the most effecitve means of ~~the~~ polittical and social education of ~~the~~ all adult people.

In proof for that we are being constantly told of the blessings that the Italian dic~~xxx~~tatorship has achieved in Italy, how efficiently the railroads ~~xxxxx~~ operate and how the Italian ~~xxx~~ etc. ~~xxx~~ strengthened. On the other hand we are being told that the Russian dictatorship ~~xxxx~~ is on the

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Thus Mussolini ~~xxxxx~~ proud[illegible] for his achieve is that conditions in Italy have been vastly improved. The railroads run on schedule time. Evidently did not when Mr Ramsa McDonald arrived in Genua. And that no beggars are to be seen on the streets.

Of what avail is it for the railraod to be on time, when the railway union and all the other independent revolutionary labor organizations have been destroyed and the workers turned into chattel slaves without will or freedom to direct the course of their lives.

The tourist may rejoice that he is no longer pestered by loathsome looking human beings. But that has not abolisghed the need for begging.xxxxx For never at any time was there such poverty and want in Italy as under the Fascist regime.

Hitler has only now begun so all his claims for constructive achievements are yet to come. meanwhile every step of his has meant devastation and ruin to Germany and a blotch on her escutheon which nothing can eve wipe away.

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way of establishing the dilemma in Russia, that the workers are in control, that they are being furnished with cheaper rent, medical attendance, education of their childdren and two weeks holiday with pay.

Now even if all that were true, which it is not in Russia or Italy, one could still have to ask whether the price paid for the blessings of dictatorship in both countries is not far beyond the coin made, the ~~price~~ appalling price in character, integrity, self reliance, self respect and the sanctity of human dignity.

Let us see what the rest spirits have to say about the character of dictatorship, the rest ~~poetx~~ Hindoo poet Rabindranath Tagore, for instance.

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This account is followed up by hundreds of letters smuggled out from Italy which substantiates the story from all sides, that though the railways may work efficiently the railwaymen have forfeited their right ot organize, and are slave driven by the terror every where in evidance all through Italy. That the general condition of the masses has not improved, on the other hand there is general distrust, espeonage, treachery ~~xxxxxx~~ hidden and open. In short Italy, once the very cradle of revolutionary hope and fire is now a dumping ground for the worst elements in the country ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the best is either in prison or jogged by the machine.

But, we are told by the worshipeers of Bolshevik dictatorship, it is different in Russia, there the people rule, the workers have everything. Only fanatics or children will go on repeating this game in the face of overwhelming proofs of how enslaved and driven the people are in Russia. Two weeks ago I read from one of the Soviet papers about the number of unemployed in Russia. I now see by recent

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accounts this time from the speeches at the recent Trade Union Co[illegible] Moscow and reported by the correspondent of the most pro Soviet Liberal paper, The [illegible] of Jan 26. That there are in Russia to day 2.000.000 unemployed. Of that more than a million falls on registered trade union workers, the rest come from the rank of the workers who do not belong to the trade unions. The speakers at the Congress were highly critical of the Commissariat of Labour. As if it were the fault of this commissariat and not of the whole system.

Another [illegible] discussed at the Congress is the increase in accidentes, thus the [illegible] for 1913 in the mining industries were 47 accidentes a year to 10.000 workers. These have now risen to 54 and [illegible] paces to 70 cases. The reason for it given are,

"Defective machinery and inadequate safety regulation The systematic opposition offered by the directing [illegible] organization of State industries to measures

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proposed for labour safety. The inefficiency of factory inspection.

The lack of energy and perseverance ~~af~~ on the part of organizations of the Commissariat of Labour.

Added to this is the complaints coming from all parts of Russia about the way trachers and doctors are dismissed and worked according to mood. Thus teachers are thrown out of school on the least provocation and with out their right to reenstatement, and doctors are slave drievn 12 hours a day. The delegates of the physicians union describes conditions ~~texthexhospitalx~~ of labour in the hospitals as appalling."

~~xBut~~ The Manchester Guardian endes this report with the significant words that this does not tally with the rosy accounts given by careful visitors and Labour Missions to Russia.

No indeed it does not, nor does anything else palmed off on credulous people. Thus we are constantly being assured that Russia [illegible] child.

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But what do some of the Soviet papers tell, here is an item from Trud of June 30th on juvenile delinquvancy In 1921 9000 children passed through the Commission organized to combat juvenile crime. In 1925 this number had increased to 20.000, destitute children have turned into criminals recidivists. Among children of 8.10.12 years one finds burglars, robbers, and even murderers, not to speak of the appalling increase of venereal diseas among minors.

There you have the facts about the care the Stetat really is given the children. At the same time the Socialist Republic finds it necessary to increase the expenditure of the Red Army to 702 Million per annum. And to spend huge sums for the maintaince of its various trades missions, the one in Berlin alone having spent 220.000 gold rubles in six months.

All this must be traced to the deadly dictatorship which makes the participation of the masses impossible in Russia

As to the political statues under dictatorship, let

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by his black hooligans. The aftermate of the war has certainly created strange bed-fellows, Bolshevism and Fascism. Mossulini jailing and killing Italien workers. Tchitcherin whose governemtn is jailing and killing Russian xxxx workers at home hobnobbing with the King of Italy, the Popse in Rome, and sending grateful letters to Mossulini for the hospitality given him and his party while in Italy. Strange bed-fellows indeed.

But what about the achie ents of the Fascist dictatorship, let us a ain turn to Tagore and the wife of one of the xxxxxxxx forme. leading professors who came nearly being killed by the black shirted gang and had to flee Italy. In an interview which toook place between this cultrued lady and Tagore during his stay in Switzerland she told him,

quote.

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Dicta orship, Bolshevist and Fascist.

The [redacted] of the Conservative Press [redacted] is best demonstrated in its appraisement of the two dictatorships now infesting the world. The Conservative Press waxes hot over the glories achieved by the Fascist dictatorship, but repudiate and condemn the Dictatorship in Russia. [redacted] can not see that though the two dictatorships are of different origin, and claime different aims, they are yet identical in their methods and in their effect upon the social, political and spiritual life of the people in the respective countries.

Out of the orgy of war. Out of two revolutions emerged the two newest political phenomenon, the Left and the-Bolshevism and Fascism. Both are popular movements although foundamentally different in social origin and Content Both believe that force can perform miracles-that it can turn social misery into social [redacted] Paradise.

Terror to both is not merely and incident- it is the most dominant means to both parties because they both [redacted]

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lack faith in the people and ~~their~~ right to organize their lives in accordance with their own needs ~~and capabilities~~

4 Bolshevism began with Socialist and ~~Commu~~ Communist revolutionary phrases. It promised freedom, iquality, bread. Instead it is developing Capitalism-State and private, with terror as its highest revolutionary deity. The reason once advanced for the necity of teror-Intervention from without, counter-revolution from within are no more.

Russia claimes to be in the reconstructive period with all the fronts liquidated. Still there is no let up in political percecution, no sign anywheres of a breath of political freedom, or the chance for selfdetermination for the people.

5 On the other hand Fascism began with National revolutionary phrases. It has already reverted to to a system of Imperialism which is fast ~~became~~ a manace to the peace of Europe. Fascism promised the Italien people speedy recovery ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ from its wounds of the war

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and glorious times. All it has done is to destroy the best there was in the country-the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the beauty and freedom loving spirit of the Italien masses. Fascism has replaced that magnificient spirit which has given to the world the greates art, A Michel Angelo, a Dante, a Leonardi da Vinci by ~~a mu~~ ~~the~~ spirit of murder, pillage, destruction.

It is an irony of history that the Communist dictatorship at the very height of terror in Italy should be so closely allied with the Fascist dictatorship. That at the moment when Italien prisons were filled with Italien Communists, Anarchists, Syndicalists, Socialists and Liberals of every ~~xxxx~~ shade, ~~at a time when the spirit~~ of the murdered Matteotti was ~~still~~ ~~xxxxxxxx~~ marching through the land that at such a time the Soviet Legation should see fit to entertain the Italien diplomatic cors and Fascist Press correspondents. And that when asked by the latter about the continued political percectuion in Russia the reply should have been "toute come chez vous" Just like with you. In other words, the same politcal percecution in Socialist

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Russia as in Fascist Italy.

The reason for the opposition of the reactionary elements to the Russian dictatorship when they so gladly embrace the Italien brand is not far to seek. After all there have been two revolutions in Russia, the March and the Oct. Both struck deeply into the minds and hearts of the Russian people, both transformed all their social and ethical values and opened up vistas before them far beyond their own expectation. This is what the reactionaries can neither forget or forgive. To the reactionary mind revolution is like a red rag to the bull. The reactionary conviniently forgets that his whatever liberties he enjoys have come on the heels of revolution in his own country. But that is a thing one does not talk about. Just revolutions are like the shady past of the reformed lady, one likes to burry one's memory of one's frivelous days. So too the reactionary.

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in regard to the revolution ~~mx~~ his fathers made, so that their ungrateful sons may enjoy the fruits of their great and heroic battles for freedom and upportunity.

9 The reactionary therefore hates the Bolshevik dicatorship and loves the Fascist brand. He does not know that Bolshevism far from being revolutionary has as a matter of fact crushed the Russian revolution, that it has gone back on its own revolutionary principles, and is fast becoming as reactionary as his European cousins.

10 However, it [illegible] be emphasised too much that the Fascist [illegible] an imitation of the Moscow brand, and that Mussolini has neither the mind nor the character of his Russian teacher.

11 Lenin who was the originator of the Bolshevik dictatorship was a tower of strength intellectually and possed an iron will. These qualitites enabled him to take hold of the reign of government, and to mold it into a formidable machine which [illegible] rules over all that is the best and vital in Russia.

~~No such claim can be made for the~~

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No such claimes can be made for the Hitlier. Dictator [illegible] only a cheap repetition of the thoughts, ideas [illegible] of Lenin. There is an old saying that the renegade is [illegible] those he once faught. It is not surprising that the ex Socialist Mossulini should become more reactionary than the reactionaries he once faught in the columns of the Socialist paper Avanti.

It is a grivious mistake to charge Mossulini with having brought forward one sin le,orin al idea. He is as a matter of fact the mere parrot of his master Lenin and ~~Bakunist~~ the ruthless methods of his dictatorship is the pale reflex of Bolshevism.

There is however, this great differned, fascism has adopted Bolshevist methods when they

However, Bolshevism as propogated by Lenin and his comrades before the Oct revolution and during its first period had at least the semblance of idealism and ~~they it~~ did hold out radiant hopes ~~to the Russian~~

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of new possibilites to the Russian people. It is fo these reasons that the Russian masses heard Lenin gladly and swept him into power.

Fascism is not the child of revolution, but of reaction, it is not composed of the element who all their lives dreamed and worked and suffered for the ideal of social and politcal emancipation of the masses. Fascism is composed of the riff raff thrown ashore by the backwash of the war, a murderous gang who never had ideals and never suffered for them. This fact makes Fascism much less of a mencae than Bolshevism, even if it has for the present destroyed every vestage of liberty in Italy.

Why do I say that Bolshevism is a greater menace to the people of Russia and the workers in every country? Because masses of people in Russia owing to the complete monopoly of the press still see the Bolshevik dictatorship in terms of the revolution. And to a great many outside of Russia thanks to the glowing accounts given by the Bolshevik travelling salesmen of the Russian revolution, continues to

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symbolise the high hopes and the sublime promise of the Russian revolution. Therefore the workers outside of Russia fail to see the Bolshevik dictatorship in its true light, in its devastating and crushing aspect, hence the greater menace of Bolshevism to the workers in the world.

On the other hand, Fascism deceives no one except those who hanker for a dictator in their onw country, the reactionaries everywhere would dearly love to have a litt Mossulini of their own. They are too poor in human material to bring forth a great dictator, one like Lenin, or Napolean But in the time of need the devil eats flies, so too, the reactionaries in such countries as Great Britain or the U.S. learn to accept a dictator no matter how small his intellectual stature.

The masses are begining to learn that every dictator whatever his claimes and whatever his color or creed must needs become the stubbling block in the path of progress and advancement for which the workers everywhere are fighting so vallinatly.

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(Big let. 9. – Do say A to Dictatorship any means not that even

(First)

Dictatorship can not be excercised by a whole people. If that were possible there would be no one left to dictate to, and dictatorship would lose its value. Its function is, therefore limited to a political party. But even the party as such, consisting of large numbers can not excercise dictatorship. This has been amply proven by the various crisis that have taken place within the Communist party since its ascendency to power. ~~I will come to that later. For the present it is [illegible] necessary to show~~ ~~how~~ Then the entire party never does, or has excercised dictatorship. Those who have been the actual dictators have really been the inner circle of influential members, what is generally known as the Excecutive Committee. And if the excecutive Committee grows too large, say even fifteen to 25 members then there will be among these two or three who will gradually have the dictatorship in their hands.

Drying [illegible] Lenin was the sole dictator in Russia. After his death it was the Triumverate, Stalin Zi[illegible]ev, Kamenev. Now it is Stalin and his clique. ~~In other~~

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To maintain that in Russia the proletariat was ever the dictatorship is to perpetuate a delusion and a snare. From the very inception the Bolshevik dictatorship was over the proletariat and not of the proletariat. Not that I could ever make peace with dictatorship no matter who wields the dictatorial club, ~~but~~ Historically it matters little who is on top, the rich or the poor, since the very existance of a top presuposes a bottom which represents the pillars that sustains the top. And as long as there are the pillars there must be a Samson to tear them down.

However, truth will out some day, and the ~~truth~~ truth is that in Russia the dictatorship never was of the proletariat. Neither ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ does the Fassulini ~~dicta~~ dictatorship represent the Italien people. In other words, the dictatorship of a class, of a party in practice always means the Absolute power of [illegible] at the given time, then the absolute power of two ~~or~~ or three striving to become one. Dictatorship therefore means the most reactionary ~~manner~~ system of government.

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Fascism and Dictatorship

It had been suggested that progress always takes two step backwoard for every step in advance it makes. Judging by the spread of black reaction all over the world since the World war one is lead to believe that advancement has been thrown back for many years to come.

Centuries of heroic struggle and sacrifice have been needed to free mankind from religious and political boundage. Yet here is man no less fettered than of yore. The idols have changed. Their hold on the mind and will of man has remained the same.

The Fetishes of our time are Fascism and Dictatorship exalted from the Right as well as the Left as the new Savior come to lead humanity out of poverty, want and chaos into an orderly, contented future. Has not Fascism regenerated Italy? Is Mr. Hitler and his hordes working overtime to rescue Germany from the menace of the Jews and alk radical factions. And has not Russia already established heaven on earth. Thus ~~preaching the~~ from the Right and the Left ~~[illegible]~~ prayers are being offered to the new deities/-for what they have already done and what they

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have promised to bring to mankind.

One would have to despair in the possibil itles and judgment of the human race for its credulity were not that man in the bulk is like the individual human being. In time of great physical stress and mental anguish, the one and the other cease to reason. Condemnded to [illegible] wisest seek relief from any quack who happens to come along

Certainly society is sick unto death. Capitalism has sung its swan song. Its wing are broken its legs tottering The democratic state which was never more that tha in name has proven utterly wanting and ineffectual to cope with any given social calamity. ~~Their~~ His last hope is Fascism. It is the Master Quack, the new serum come to infuse new vitality in their dried up springs of life.

On rhe other hand are the masses bled white by war, starved and depleted by its ghastly aftermath. Dictatorship is held out to them as their Messiah. He had already lead the people into the promised land which is Russia, and he is working at strenuously to es

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the glowing light that is to illumine the rest of the world. Hence the blind worship ~~by the~~ of Fascism by the bourgoisie, and the iqually blind worship of Dictatorship by the proletariat.

Just as the heretic in the past so is the modern heretic subjected to indignities, ~~arrests,~~ torture and death because they dare question the divine rights of Fascism and Dictatorship. Or if not the ~~devien~~ divine right claimed for it[illegible] to make the world better by means of blood letting. Yet at no time in the worlds history were daring spirits so desperately needed ~~than~~ as now when the whole world is in ~~the grip of the~~ ~~Fascism and Dictatorship~~ the mad whirrl, the spirtual St Vitus dance ~~of Fascism~~ in its clmor for Fascism and Dictatorship.

Not for a moment do I mean to suggest that the twosprings from the same roots and have the same end in mind.

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To e sure there are worlds between Dictatorship and Fascism. The former springing from the loins of Revolution, of the ideal of Socialism and Communism. ~~The latter~~ the child of reaction, counter revolution and an arogant nationalism.

~~xLenin the creator of Dictatorship towered mountain high over~~ Lenin the creator of the Bolshevist dictatorship towered mountain high ~~over~~ intellectually and spiritually over the pigmis that have infested numerous countries with Fascism. He and his followers had dreamed and worked all their lives for the ideal that was to set the masses free. For that they had suffered, poverty, imprisonment exile and some had paid with their lives for their ideals. Not so the Mussolinis and the Hitlers was ashore by the muddy water of the war and the so called peace. In justice to the Italian dictator it maybe said that he had at least some social training. His is a case that proves the saying that those surrounding the Pope are always worse then the Pope Mussolini ~~the~~ though a fellow pupil of Lenin of the same

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[illegible] have always suffered [illegible] truth, or at least the path which leads to [illegible] they wish to communicate their discovery to their fellow men. They aim to enlarge the outlook upon life. They attempt to do away with ignorance and superstition. To replace fear of the unknown with a recognition and understanding of reality.

At first the aim of the idealist seems beautifully easy. He is filled with pride and carries the torch of light and reason through darkness. He feels that humanity in the bulk may not be able to grasp the new, but if he will only demonstrate it, it will only bring proof strong enough to appeal to reason, then mankind will rejoice and will accept his ideals unhesitatingly.

Unfortunately the march of truth and enlightenment [illegible] strangeth with martyrdom. [illegible] that the [illegible] people cannot grasp the truth even if they see it, even if it was proven to them [illegible] mathematically. Upon this fatal weakness all religions until this day have successfully built their churches, their heavens and their hells, their gods and their devils. Between the pioneers of free thought and the majority there still continues an abyss, while these pioneers, embued with fire and ecstacy demolish one idol of superstition, a similar [illegible] up and creates its havoc in the minds of

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[illegible]alist is often filled with despair and [illegible] when he sees how tenaciously and persistently his [illegible] cling to the masses, how they hold the human [illegible] in their grip regardless of the combined efforts of science [illegible] thought, and yet this is precisely the reason why the [illegible]alist must never relax in his zeal; why he must never rest in his efforts towards human emancipation.

If the [illegible] and idols were only content with their ethereal domain, one might feel inclined to spare their power, but they are not [illegible] even in our earthly hell, they have their dominion also on earth; they are in league with our earthly rulers [illegible] hate them in their depotism over [illegible]. It is they that counteract the [illegible] life, for liberty and self-being. For [illegible] subdue mankind, [illegible] return [illegible] prayer. [illegible] heretics [illegible] jail, or force to death [illegible] of God.

[illegible] God the shares of the [illegible] stock very high in these days. His prestige is on the increase. The super-butchers in Europe deluge Him with their fervent pleas to smite the enemy. God seems to be the bosom-friend of the Czar, the Kaiser, the Kings, the scheming diplomats. Accord-

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[illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible] the first presidents in America [illegible] there [illegible], but they could afford to be. Conditions were not so [illegible]harged with explosives; the government could [illegible]ge without him. Now it is another matter, now it is imperative to use every Jesuitic trick to keep the masses in subjection, to make them believe that everything is well, just and fair, in the State of Denmark, but God must be called upon to give state evidence, a role, by the way, he has always played so well. That is the reason why we have again become so religious; that is why the churches are supported to keep the human herd in superstition; that is why they are publicly and privately given so many special privileges; that is why the Catholic Church, in particular, is growing more powerful, more arrogant in this new land of theirs.

The average subject takes pride in the power and efficiency of his master. One hates to be ruled and directed by one inferior. Thus it is only true that the [illegible] tyrants have always been the adored and best obeyed tyrants in the world. Very well then, God, the Universal [illegible] whom Kings and Priests recognize as the chief tyrant [illegible] he has proven anything but efficient, ev[illegible] the one book, the Bible, the [illegible] of the world literature [illegible]

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His omnipotence, and omnipresence his love and [illegible] are but words to cover up his helplessness, his [illegible] and discretion, his spitefulness and des- [illegible] The mistakes of God begin with creation, evident- ly the whole material for it seems to have been bad since everything went wrong when turned out the very reverse of what the creator intended the universe to be. God placed the first human children in Paradise, but instead of leaving them in peace with memory of plants and beasts, he placed the snake, the devil in the Garden.

Not knowing human nature, God tempts absolute obedience from us. Immediately the devil enters, he lights curiosity into our heart, the desire for investigation. [illegible] the first "terrible sin" [illegible] It might have had the best intention to create [illegible] perfect children, but whether he lacked ability or forethought, the attempt was a failure. Realizing that man has not turned out according to His image, God should have destroyed the first human model, and should have blamed only himself, instead he throws the entire responsibility upon his helpless children, drives them out of the Garden of Eden, and liquidates the entire business. The fault is, of course, entirely His. [illegible] vicious temper, he does not take the [illegible] God everything made his creatures [illegible]

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Man and beast no longer lived side by side in [illegible] innocence, one devours the other, and already in the second generation, after the manufacture of man, we come across Cain and Able the fore-runners of subsequent wars. Such are the results of the mistakes of God, a masterpiece of harmony and happiness was intended; a world of mutual destruction has materialized. The greatest injustice committed by God, however, is that he never learns from experience, that he burdens man with the responsibilities and brands him for life with the original sin. All suffering pain the sorrow which mankind has ~~suffered~~ endured so far, must therefore be traced directly to an inefficient Creator, who has used man as a scape goat and made him pay the price for His own [illegible].

After the first mistake Job God seems to have been in constant wrath, he saw, according to the Bible, that the will of man is evil from birth. He must have known that in advance, or perhaps the wrath of God must be traced to the fact, that man from the beginning of his existence, penetrated the wisdom of Providence, that he looked too deeply into the words of the Lord. That was entirely too much for his Heavenly Conceit, he could never forgive that man [illegible] tempted to become a ~~creative~~ creator, to create his own world, his language, his art and science, his tools [illegible] Why men even went so far, — at least [illegible] to declare their [illegible]

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[illegible] for another terrible mistake. After [illegible] had reached its limits, he decided to exterminate [illegible] and all, the well known airflood swept over the [illegible] and destroyed men, women and children. At the same [illegible] God regretted his outrage in human or too human fashion, and decided to have at least [illegible] one human pair rescued. His choice fell on Noah - How on earth could God pick out such a creature? Until this day his bad taste is deplored by all Puritans and Prohibitionists. Surely God could not have been Noah - the [illegible] of human nature, the [illegible] of God. Noah succued by the Lord from crowning [illegible] drunkard, the [illegible] lore and [illegible] prohibitionist [illegible] gave them [illegible]

[illegible] God, the sin that [illegible] After that God looked [illegible] His entire wrath to the perception and punishment of his poor victim. But with it all, he failed to bring them back to the "Light Path" even his chosen Children, the Jews, to whom he promised [illegible] of privileges, if they only obey, cause Him much [illegible] and consequently arouse His anger. The [illegible]

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[illegible] too eager for knowledge, are [illegible] the spirit of rebellion to please their God. [illegible] this God, so half-hearted, so unreliable, [illegible] covers His children with [illegible]buds of Love with promises with Hope and Cheer, and the next day in a fit of temper, comes down with thunder and lightening, this same God is beside Himself with jealously, when his tortured creatures turn from him and seek other Gods, or turn to the Devil for support.

According to the Bible, God has suffered much from the wickedness and fickelness of Man, but what Man has endured from the cruelties and wilfulness of their God the Bible has not [illegible] to say, but many books can be written about it. The wide [illegible] such interaction between [illegible]

[illegible] from [illegible] the omnipotentic idea [illegible] His [illegible] with, to be filled and thus [illegible] from [illegible]. One wouldn't expect such a thing from a civilized God, because human sacrifice is of heathen origin, God borrowed that idea from them; [illegible] creative powers seemed to have been [illegible]

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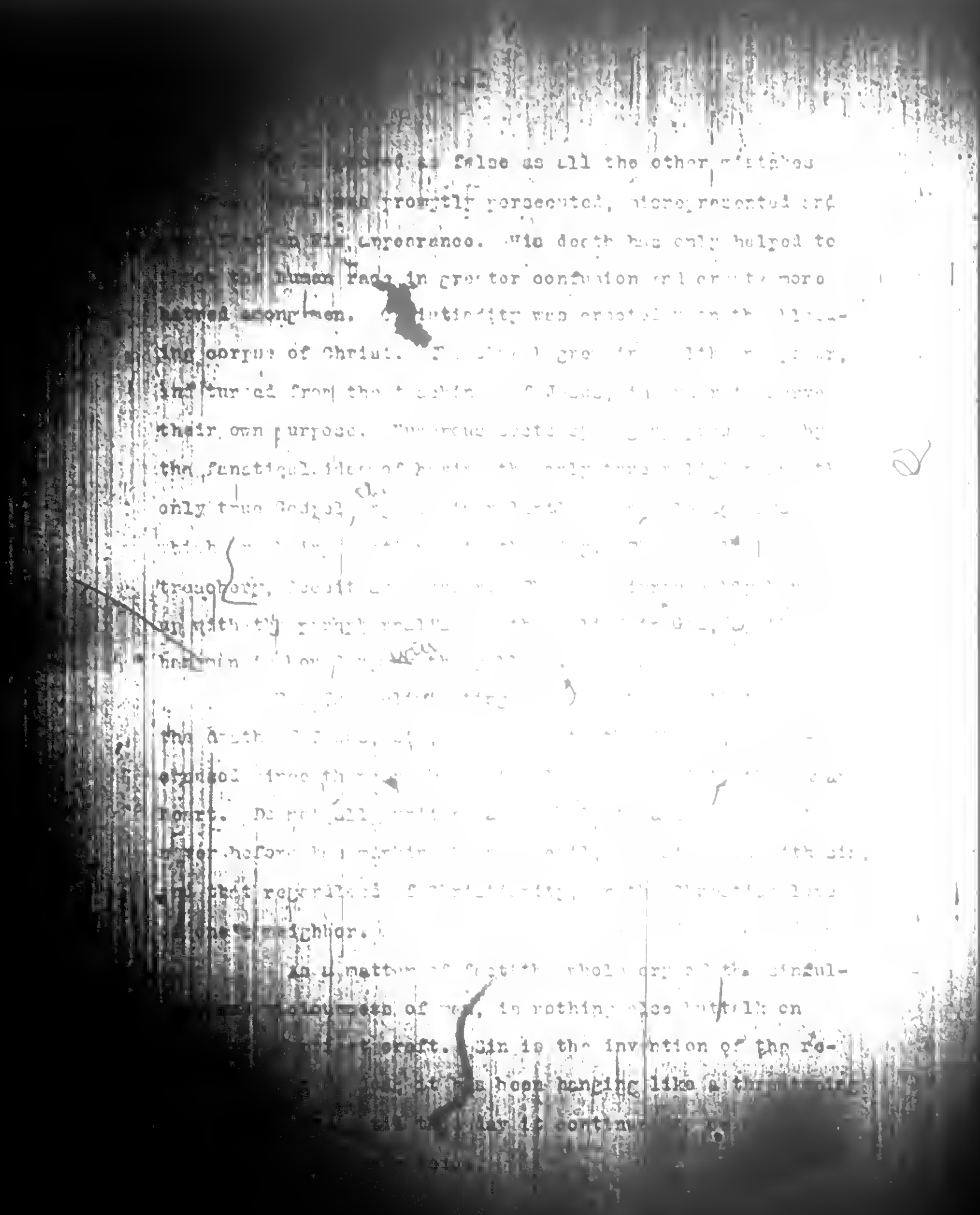

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We do not know what God, if he existed, would [illegible] the tricks of his representatives. He has so far given them carte blanche in all their actions. God suffers from the fatal inability to make him self understood to His Children. Though He needs intreporters, who in return needed Him in their shady transactions.

The entire history of God from beginning to end is nothing but a series of errors and mistakes, many of a bloody and destructive nature. The [illegible] human error [illegible] the human race, [illegible] the same time both [illegible] the errors of God.

[illegible] Providence, in [illegible], has deceived man in the hereafter, and has robbed him of the earth. Since centuries all exploiters and tyrants, [illegible] the power of their power over their followers, [illegible] very reason the mistakes and blunders of God must be praised and glorified. It is the highest time to throw the load lie and upon the dust heap of human stupidity and credulity. The emancipation, from the aberition is indispensable [illegible] advancement and liberty.

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THE HYPOCRISY OF CHARITY.

The hypocrisy of charity can be best expressed by the following anecdote: After [illegible] on the part of a minister in [illegible] work in [illegible] the plate was passed round, a [illegible] in the front row placed [illegible] in the [illegible] of the penny. The minister approached the man after the service were over, and [illegible] him the [illegible] intention [illegible] said: I [illegible] to [illegible] China. [illegible] offer [illegible] penny.

[illegible]

[illegible] the victims [illegible] and [illegible] are cured and ought to [illegible] for the charity [illegible] receive.

[illegible] the recipients of charity [illegible] the people who benefit by it should realize how [illegible]

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they are to the good generous, philanthropic and charitable class, because the latter is so keenly interested in the needs of the poor. The dear, good, wealthy class has yet to learn that poverty is the direct result of the terrible war which must continue so long as there are human beings who have the means to be charitable and others who must depend upon this degrading thing to exist at all.

[illegible] of this [illegible] be found [illegible] our [illegible] Carnegie, is' [illegible] good man gave ten million [illegible] force! what a [illegible]!

[illegible] conspicuous representative, [illegible] war, necessitates [illegible]. The same kind of capitalism [illegible] free trade, that [illegible] a high tarriff [illegible] people, [illegible] the vast fortunes ~~rise~~ of [illegible], [illegible] capitalism poses as a benefactor [illegible], when in reality is wrought [illegible].

[illegible] Carnegie exploits labor to [illegible] time of strike, as happened in the [illegible], still this day employs every means to [illegible] the Iron Structural Union, yet donates [illegible] and builds magnificent libraries which [illegible] have neither time or strength to use,

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the Rockefeller's the Morgan's the Harriman's, and the [illegible] of the respectables thieves come. The thing which the research work does not tell us is how the people might get rid of the curse that keeps them poor and kills them off. What a [illegible] force! what a hypocrisy!

Within the last two months the daily papers [illegible] the sanctimonious and human kindness of two great [illegible] the city of New York, Altman and Wearn. Both [illegible] their fortunes. From the people of [illegible] of all [illegible] the [illegible] worked to death; [illegible] there, [illegible] were [illegible] ched [illegible] Wonder [illegible] collections, every [illegible] nd [illegible] ent. Yet [illegible] the history [illegible] well as I, but [illegible] they [illegible].

[illegible] reported that [illegible] in the [illegible] of [illegible] prison [illegible] of [illegible] than that [illegible] in Fitchburg.

[illegible] that fitchburg in the gold mine [illegible] Rockefeller, [illegible] well-known [illegible] of the [illegible] city!

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[illegible] other specialties, while the poor [illegible] their misery contrast with the crumbs [illegible] charity, [illegible]

[illegible] Government of [illegible] monopoly [illegible] Bay [illegible] billions of [illegible] contraneous.

[illegible] the money, much that [illegible] the income of [illegible] of labor: twenty-nine [illegible] privileges to [illegible] exploit [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] Rockefeller [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible] ent.

[illegible]

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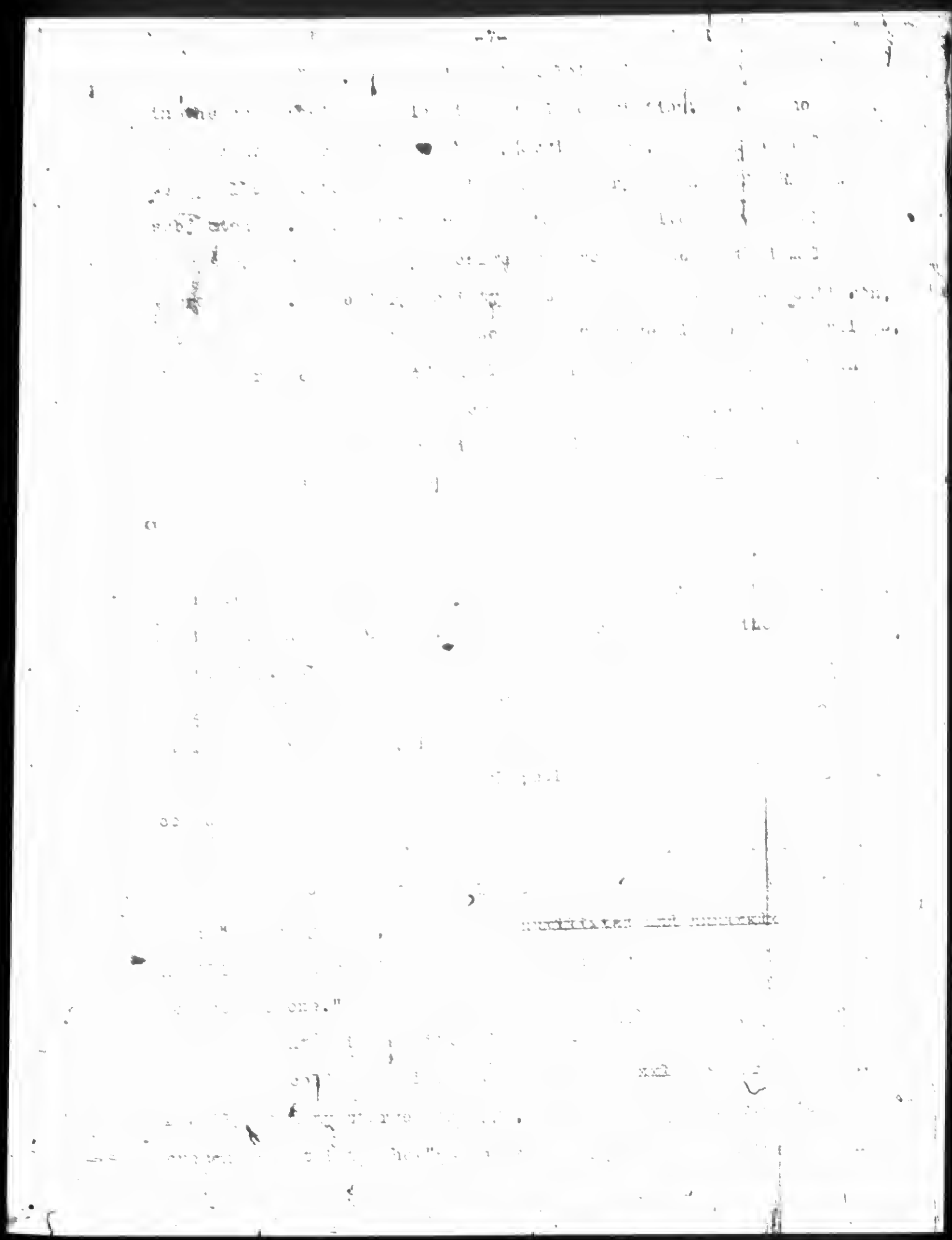

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to satisfy their terrible hunger, and while they walk the streets with nothing in their stomach, foot sore, and soul weary one [illegible] parasite, no doubt, a great philanthorpist, Mrs. Emory a Cincinnati woman, paid $400,000 for a Titian.

The victims of a hypocritical, cruel world are made to drain the cup of sorrow to the last drop, reduced to waste their substance in the gray offices of the charity institutions; they must beg and cringe to make themselves worthy of the bone thrown them by their [illegible] benefactors. But if two fashionable [illegible] at the "[illegible]" they are excused and the court [illegible] satisfied with the influential sponsors [illegible] fashionable ladies.

[illegible] of the country comes the distressing [illegible] unemployed. What is our eternal [illegible] it? The government which is called [illegible] ability of the voter to watch [illegible] How is this government going to [illegible] are the charity [illegible] to feed the nations [illegible] while the unemployed [illegible] fro[illegible] corner in search of a job.

[illegible] with us, it is [illegible] our [illegible] economists [illegible] their cor[illegible] from which [illegible].

[illegible] since the fall of 1907 has there been [illegible] of men thrown out of work with no means [illegible] and hungry. And that but a few [illegible] after the [illegible] speech [illegible] with the joyous [illegible] of the workers [illegible] the new administration will preform.

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So far the new robbe has remained true to the old position which always consisted in securing the possessing class, yet it has done nothing for the victims of that class. It will do nothing for the men, women and children who compose the [illegible] the jobless crew, except, perhaps to become the [illegible] of law and to police the policeman's club. Or it will come to the conclusion of Taft, namely, that only God knows what they employed ought to do. Indeed God and charity are [illegible] against rebellion, [illegible] they are [illegible].

[illegible] to such indignities. Such is, [illegible] to prove that [illegible] the benefits of charity [illegible] and worthless [illegible], but no [illegible] while some philanthropic [illegible] op. [illegible] of charity, [illegible] were [illegible] but there is no [illegible] in Paterson. [illegible] our [illegible] little children? How [illegible] little lives, while thousands of people are [illegible] to the most harrowing conditions [illegible] or the sailor. And so long as these things exist, charity is force and is here for no other reason than to keep the poor in check.

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[illegible] that we need isn't charity, it is pride, dignity and independence. If the people only had that, charity would soon [illegible] of [illegible] job. [illegible] the unemployed could not only [illegible] take what [illegible] rally and rightfully belongs to them. If [illegible] the poor could [illegible] or [illegible] demonstration of [illegible] cattle feeling, [illegible] themselves to [illegible] things which they have created. [illegible] in our universities, there real learning [illegible] be ~~[illegible]~~ extolled. They [illegible] their own [illegible] with true literature and not stupid [illegible] therein. They would have their [illegible] for old [illegible] or [illegible] verse, [illegible], if [illegible] are self-respect, more independence, [illegible] their backs and fell to the [illegible] is built on hypocrisy and shame. [illegible] perhaps the or[illegible] feel this fact, therefore, [illegible] are willing for legislation [illegible] It isn't [illegible] [illegible] the poor [illegible] realize [illegible] themselves [illegible] charity will cease [illegible] of the human race will [illegible] cease [illegible] will [illegible] what is his.

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The Speculators in Starvation

Never before has our material and social misery been exposed with such force as through the hunger demonstration in New York and other large cities. These hunger riots are the strongest criticism and most powerful indictment of the lies of National prosperity and glory with which the American people have been fed ever since the beginning of the European war. Of course American nationalism has ever been of a gingoistic character, full of conceit and bombast. Nevertheless, the gingoists of this country have never quite dared to gloat over the marvelous opportunities America offers for the accumulation of large profits and colossal wealth. But during the last two years, even ordinary decency was cast aside and all the papers together with the politicians vied with one another in raising the National superiority to the very skies.

They have assured us over and over again that the United States is bound to become the creditor of Europe, aye, even of the whole world. We were told that America, as the richest nation on earth must also become the most powerful nation on earth, so that it can triumph in the competitive struggle. It was reiterated that owing to the chaos and confusion of war in Europe, America would take over the heritage of the European nations and take possession of the world's trade and commerce, the world power on sea and on land. Such was the boast of the nationalists and patriots, of those who have made huge gains and profits through human starvation. They who had turned

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the stream of blood and tears into immense fortunes. These speculators in hunger and distress.

But not only they, even the poor suckers whose meagre earnings never sufficed to supply the absolute necessities of life, even the mass of American workers were carried away by all these national lies and deceptions, as if they had any part whatever in the national wealth and so called glory. Poor ignoramusses who do not know to this day that while they shout themselves hoarse in patriotic and national enthusiasm, the gonst of hunger was stalking through the land, coming ever nearer to their own doors. Suddently however, hunger xxxx is before them. It is of no avail to close ones eyes or shut ones ears. Nor will it avail to silence this ghastly spook as the press and politicians usually do, when they are confronted with some social apparition.

Hunger uprising never asked permission of the authority, they are of an elemental force which drives men, women and children into the street. Hunger teaches the masses in twenty four hours more than the college does in one year. It tells them that their misery has not been ordained by devine providence; that it is not an accident, but that it must be traced to the unscrupulous speculation wide spread in the land. Those who are combined in the meat, wheat, oil and other trusts, have but one national ideal, one religious belief, on patriotic sentiment: to use the present dreadful merderous condition of Europe for their own purpose. And what is more, the government of the country is rendering these criminal gamblers the best assistance as usual.

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How very willing the government is to prove itself obliging to the combination of American robbers is demonstrated in the fact that it is quite willing to plunge the country into war, to send armies of men into sure death and to increase the misery and distress among women and children rather than to jeopardise even in the least the opportunities of the privileged criminal class.

There is no other rhyme or reason for the war now hanging over America except the consideration for those who have sapped out Europe and America in a truly neutral and patriotic manner. The administration so loud and profuse in its reiteration for peace, has allowed itself to be swepped off its feet by the powerful crucks in wall street of the munition cligue, by the speculators in hunger, war and death.

The condition of the masses of workers at best, never offers enough to properly sustain life. But it was inevitable that the conditions were to become more endurable with the horde of speculators and gamblers all over the country engaged in the profitable business of shipping huge quantities of American products to the war in Europe. Under such circumstances it is not difficult to see that the prices of these products would increase so that the richest country on earth would presently find itself with masses of people doomed to starvation and unable to purchase even the meagre necessities of life.

For a long time it was possible to sever up these

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facts. Dazzling figures were compiled to prove the tremendous prosperity since the beginning of the war. How the munition plants have sprung up like mushrooms from the soil, how they have sprung small towns into large cities and how enormously the earnings of the population were increased. Not a newspaper in the country but what indulged in all owing descriptions of how the workers were roaking in money and affluence. Thus a newspaper item headed that in Bridgport, Conn. prosperity was in such height that ordinary workingmen would pay nine dollars for a pair of shoes, nothing less would do.

The writer of this fairy tail oth wilfully and ignorantly failed to tell that shoes have doubled in price because the speculators in human distress were making huge fortunes in exporting shoes to the warring countries. A St. Louis Shoe salesman coined five hundred thousand dollars on a sic percent basis from the export of shoes to Russia. He is evidently a keen business man with an eye for the opportunity offered by the countries at war, he suggested the plan to his firm of shipping shoes to Russia and asked to be put on on a sic percent basis. The man is now worth a half a million dollars besides having turned millions over to his firm. That is only the result of export to one country. If we will consider all the other countries at war who have sent the productive manhood into the trenches and death and who are now compelled to depend upon American labor, it will not be hard to see why the workers in Bridgeport must pay nine dollars for a pair of shoes. The same holds good of nearly all other products which American labor brings forth at the

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expence of life and limb then must see them snatched away from the very mouths of their wives and children to be shipped to the insatiable monetary-the war of Europe.

On closer examination of the nationalistic delirium which has run rampant in our land, we will fin. hidden behind it a brutal fear that the war may be over sooner than was good for us patriotic Americans. That explains the opposition to every attempt at peace suggested. The very idea of peace creates a panic in Wall street. Nevermind the horrors of the trenches and the battle field, never mind the suffering of women and children. Profits are more important. Hence the opposition to an early peace. Each time Wall street loses its head in mortal dread that the channels of profit may be closed by restoring peace. The leading papers come out with reassuring articles that there can be no peace without "honor". The speculators need fear nothing and ply their dirty criminal trade.

Hunger, misery and want were a just retribution for these inhuman, depraved gamblers of the ruling class, if only they and theirs would have to pay the price. One might turn into a believing christian and have faith in the justice of God. But what is one to think of the God who always makes the innocent suffer for the guilty? This God who knoweth all surely knows that those who cause the high cost of living do not suffer from it. Their profits are sufficient to meet any cost, to obtain not merely necessities but even all the luxuries of life. But the women and children of the people, they cannot meet the

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situation. Without theories and philosophies to sustain, them, they must feel that there is no excuse whatever for their hunger. It is not as if their men were out of work. Everybody is employed now and yet they cannot buy the mere necessities, not even such inexpensive things as milk for the babies. In California fruit is allowed to rot; potatoes are fed to pigs. In the East people must go without both because the speculators in starvation insist upon keeping up the price paid to them by the warring countries so the people are allowed to starve. Such is the ghastly spectable in the richest city on earth in time of employment. They are compelled to let their children go to school in a half starved condition and force their wives in a bedraggled and emaciated form to demonstrate against the high cost of living.

Governor Whitman is reported to have said: "It is rediculous to speak of hunger. The people must learn to get along with what they can afford to buy." Governor Whitman seems to be a cheap imitator of Mary Antonett who told the pebple to eat cake if they have no bread. The Governor may learn some day that it is not wise to admonish the people when hunger has driven them to dispair. The Governor does not seem to be conversant with the history of the French revolution or he would know that a certain grain dealer who said the people should eat hay was made to live up to that admonition when the wrath of hunger and rebellion ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ unloosedned the sufferings endured by the people of France. The man got all the hay he wanted and a rope around his neck in the bargain.

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Think of the impudence of a man put in office by the people to say they ought to get along with whatever they are able to buy. In view of the fact that rotten potatoes are eight cents a pound, onions 18 to 20¢, cabbages 23¢ a head and all other products almost doubled. the Governor must be either stupid or deaf or both. There can be no talk of hunger among the people. As a matter of fact 30,000,000 people in America went hungry even before the vicious speculation in food stuffs began. And that according to the bulletin of health published a year ago. The statistics compiled proved that eight hundred dollars per year were absolutely indispensable for a family of three, yet 30.000.000 people did not even have as much as that. Now with food stuffs almost double in price, whatelse but hunger stalks through the land?

No doubt the Governor imagines the women and children of the East side marched through the streets out of fun. Perhaps they wanted to imitate the dress parade on Fifth Avenue of their parasitic sisters. No Mr. Governor, the women of the East side were driven by hunger--many of them perhaps also by their awakened rebellion and wrath against a city like New York with its wealth, its display, its terrible extravigance, should yet compell these women and their children to starvation.

American is obsessed by investigations. Every day a new commission springs up to investigate things. The one on the high cost of living has already wasted five hundred thousand dollars. This commission has not only not had the slightest effect upon the cost of living; it has not even made the slightest attempt to find out the cause of the exorbitant

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prices. It did not dare and what is more that was not the purpose of the commission. Investigations are for two reasons: First to side track the real issue and secondly to give to a few favorites of those in office an opportunity for easy graft. How then would these people dare to trace the high cost of living to the band of robbers and pilferers who are gambling in the blood of the people of Europe and in the hunger of the people of America?

But we know that hunger is here not because there is not enough for all. Right in the city the ware and storage houses are cramped with food stuffs. The railroad yards are stacked up with car loads of provision, in fact so many cars that transportation has been crippled. The people are hungry because a hand fool of human Hienas control the market and fix the prices. They would rather throw tons of potatoes, onions and cabbage into the bay than let them go to the hungry and needy at the ordinary price. This has been going on for two years without a murmur our from the people. But at last patience seems to be at an end. No wonder the city and state administration is ~~going~~ growing uneasy. The hunger demonstrations of last week are exposing the true conditions of affairs which at this particular moment, when the papers throw patriotic fits and every other channel is forced into line to saddle America with militarism, it is most disconcerting that America is starving her people. That may teach the most stupid the solitary lesson that if a country cannot feed its people, it has no claim whatever upon its patriotic sympathy or national affection.

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No wonder the authorities and the press make it appear that it is only the turbulent east side, the aliens and enemies of America who are to blame for the hunger demonstrations. One paper even had the audacity to suggest that German money is back of the whole thing. In any even the demonstrators ought either to be deported or silenced by the policeman's club and wholesale arrest, or still better, wisest of all suggestions the starving people ought to be stuffed on rice. I wonder what is to become of the American high standard of living, if the masses are expexted to follow the Chinese?

Of course all this is merely to befog the mind of the people. It is true that the people will be fooled sometimes, but not all the time. The hunger riots, though limited to the East side have already forced down the prices of food stuffs and so has the boycot had its solitary effect. In forcing the small shop keepers to realize that their interests are with the consumers and not with the speculators in starvation both have indicted the steps the people will have to take in the future to achieve their aim. These steps do not lead to the Mayor's office, nor yet to petitions for various reforms. The Mayor, the Governor, the police and most of the reformers are in league to sustain the present system. How are they to help the masses out of hunger and misery? No, the masses must unite, they must show a determined, solid front.

I said twenty five years ago necessity knows no law. Necessity is slowly but surely teaching the people that they are entitled not merely to potatoes and onions but to all the

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luxuries they have created; to the beauties of life, to art and music. No one can give them that. They must learn to take it themselves. To expropriate not for the purpose of destroying them or hurling them into the gutter, but for their own use and enjoyment. That alone will do away with hunger and all the other ghastly fases of our social arrangement.

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Dupes of Politics / Emma Goldman. – 12 p. ; 22 × 15 cm.

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Dupes of Politics.

When we read are told by the Greek hero of the Odyssey who lives on a sea Island [illegible] in order to turn him into swine," we laugh freely [illegible] fact is it requires no [illegible] such a [illegible] beast

In [illegible] politicians [illegible] people [illegible] and in turning [illegible] into swine the swine to the dancing, from [illegible] section [illegible]

[illegible] drunk [illegible] infest [illegible] from [illegible] politicians and their parties [illegible] that [illegible] politicians [illegible] thrive: even [illegible] decaying times, that they are [illegible] a [illegible] civilization. [illegible]

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This parasytic growth has reached such dimension and is so hidious that one would assume the blind to see it, the deaf to hear it and the nose bereft of smell to scent its terrible stench, yet there are masses of humanity so utterly incapable of judgement that they will take the hidious thing for a beautiful flower and will be duped by its falls pretences, repeated every year with the same brazen arrogence.

At least if these dupes were illitirate, one might have some compassion with them, but to be able to read the stuff dished out by each political party through its mouth pieces, the daily press and to remain ignarant to the fact that politics represents a conspiracy of crooks, whose aim is to fleece the people, not to realize that, is to say the least the densest kind of ignorence. Year after year the farce is repeated, the people are promised miracles and the moment the people are stupid enough to cloth the politicians with power they are being robbed, blackmailed, tyrannized and oppressed, for the good of the entire nation, of course.

Therein lies the main trick of politcs, to make the masses believe its all done for their good. There is no one so foolish to turn over his rights and independence to another, if the latter were to tell him frankly, he will use it for the enslavement

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of the rest of his fellows. The politicians know that only too well just as they know that honesty for politicians is the worst policy. And whatever crime they be be ready to commit, all parties do so under the pretence, that it is being done for the benift of society and more so even for the good of the worker.

Absolutism and autocracy made ~~at least~~ no secret of their purpose. They exploited pauperized and tetured the masses in broad day light. Parlamentarism has done away with this open method, it furnishes a the veil which all governments use to help keep up the appearence of decency underneath the most atrocious crimes. Thus the Russian Czar even can now hide is murderous regime beneath the thing veil of constitutionalism. Even he has learned how powerful a weapon parlamentarism is for the enslavement of the human race.

The modern representative system makes the people absolutely inert, passive almost to a paralizing degree, because it lulls them to slepp with the comforting thought that their representative can do things so much better and more adequately than the masses can possibly do themselves. Why then should the people not turn over their independence their iniative to their respective political parties?

The representative system is not slow in exploiting this

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blindness and lethargy of the masses nor yet to allow them ever to get out of this inertia, since it gives the political crooks a chance to do their job without being find out. But more so, it furnishes those who stand behind the politicians the most convinient opportunity to continue in the process of robbery and theft in the consciousness that they can do so in perfect safety.

In this regard our moneyed class stands in relation to the politician as two thieves working on the same job. One pilfers the house and the other stand outside to see that the road is clear or in case of danger to give the signal. When their loot is carried into safety these two comrades devide the spoils. Equally so the capitalist class is on the job, pilfering and robbing the people while the politicians acts as watch dogs. They see to it that the road is clear, they give the danger signal when the victims grow uneasy, they also protect the loot through laws and legislature. When the job is done they devide.

In other words, the capitalistic robbers share with their comrades, in the form of contributions to a campaign fund, or personal donations, or a lucrative position as Senator, Judge, Congress man etc. And in return the politicians suply their friends with a few valuable national and international tips, a few insignifican

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land grants, or some such little things so useful to high classed thie

In short one hand washes the other even if it has to be done in muddy waters..

Do you grasp the meaning of the representativr system? Why is the missing link in the chain of the capitalist regim, it helps to pull the knight cap over the eyes of the people so they may not see how cleverly they are being duped and cheated. The tragedy is that the people go right into the trap, that they abdicate their power though experience might teach them that the moment the politicians are given power they take good care that their victims shall not get it back and t Instead they use it to justify every wrong, every outrage, every crime perpetrated upon their helpless dupes.

Sometimes the masses or at least a protion of them make a move towards progress towards a change, immidiately the politicia will place every imaginable obstacle in the way, use presuation, cunnin threats, or open despotism to lead the masses from their purpose.

Because they know only too well that free initative of the people is the begining of the end of the politicians, that independent action on the part of the people means the death of their regime and that nothing but slavish expiessence will se cure safety to the politic parties.

Now how do they manage to keep up this slavish faith of their victims. Let me show you how. At present their is much dicontent

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with the high cost of living. The politicians of whatever color know the cause of it only too well. What do they do? They waste time and the people blood money in farcical investigations, lay the blame on the naughty trusts and keep the dupes open mouthed with wonderment.

The people instead of declaring a General strike, or still better taking possession of the necessities of life, wait for election time when everything will be adjusted, if only the right man is placed in office.

Yet some one set of politicians through the tarif, and other special previleges had made the high cost of living possible, while another set of politicians pretend, that it is opposed to the force, which has made such "unamerican" things, as the high cost of living possible. Of course they do not mean the real cause, capitalism monopoly of the soil or exploitation. No matter how clumsy and hypocritical their moral spasms they are sure to find a willing ear, to find crouds of people who will believe them to be sincere, who will be duped.

Examain any section of society and you will find the dupes a plenty. There is the ever figuring and calculating business man. He is curious that he has not yet reached the million Dollar mark. That his free country would permit a Rockerfeller and Morgan to do all of the cut throat work and not leave him a chance to do a little of

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that juicy business. Anirself

The politician who proclaims that a fortune of a hunred million is indeed a very immoral and illigal thing and that ten million might be legitimate if only honestly earn, is the man for the poor abused disatisfied business fellow. He will imediately hang on to the coat tails of his hero and be ready to fight any one who disagrees withhim in his political choice. If perchance you should call his attention to the fact that his hero his corrupt, that he has accepted large fortunes for his campaign from the hundred million man, that he is a liar, prositute and mentle contortionist, the business man will merely say that he must be given another chance, because he means to do better now.

Like the middle class man, the worker swears by his political hero, since he too looks for relief through the machinery of government just as much as the other fellow. Of course he knows enough not to expect that his party will ever help him to the cut throat share of million, the worker, wants labor protective laws, old age pantions, municipal ownership and a few other revolutionary rthings. And surs enough he finds his man who will make the same stupid promises and will be as implicitely belived by his stupid comrades. Thus the worker like the middleclass man takes the shadow for the substance

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accepts empty phrases for the gospel truth.

And then there are the professional men and women; university professors, teachers etc, all hope for graft from a politi political change, because all depend upon political pull and not on any thing they know or can give to the community. They are as easily duped as the business man and the worker, clinging to their choice as the dog to a bone and in the implicit belief that their party their platform their programs, can not be surpassed.

There is yet another element in this election, the women. Of all the dupes they are the most pathetic. Always ~~under~~ and at every opportunity they tell us that this is a man made World, that man is enslaving them and does not give them a chance co become Schakes pears, Darwins, Goethe and Wagners, yet they allow themselves to be duped by the most brutish of all men, who not so very long ago had one of their sex taken out bey force from one of the meetings.

Small wonder if the political par ies wes with each other in their frantic effort to get into the saddle, to keep the support of their gang to promis them the most impossible things, to speak for the white man in the south and the negro in the north, to perform the most contradiotary stunts, the dupes must be humored, for the poli tical comepetion is too great.

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I may be asked what about the socialists about their party. The only difference I can see between them and the other parties is that the socialists have not yet triumphed that they are not yet in office, though they want to get there just as badly as their political collegues. On the other hands the socilalists are not half as daring as the old parties. Measures which the Hilquits, the Bergers and Seidels could not have dreamed of introducing in their planks have been introduced by the rope dancer Teddy and hailed as wonderfully progressive by the people at large. At the same time the socialist politicians deny their colors, have gone back on every principle, cover up every decayed spot on their political body all for the sake of political gains from the sake of the dupes, who are to put them in power.

Once there, could a socialist minister of war do anything else than present the capitalist army, a socialist chief of police else than maintain capitalists order,, a socialist Judge give other di cisions than send a man to a capitalist jail, or a socialist cherif be more human than carry out the capitalist death sentence?

It is precisely this modern of all superstitions which is so dangerous to the people, the superstition which makes them hope

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forthe economic and social reconstruction of society through the political machine. With a greater realization of their economic power, of of direct industrial revolutionary action the workers could change not merely their imdiate condions but actually bring about the social revolution, but instead he continues to believe in politicians and inthe machinery of government and his misery remains ~~unchanged. Therefore it obvious, his misery continues and the liberation from wage slavery is postponed for the distant future~~

To expecta revolutionary change from those who work with and through the government and politics is as absurd as to expect that the catholic church should take up free thought and atheistic agitation the two being so diametrically opposed to each other. In every revolutionary period parlamentarism was the stubling block in the way of the people, which daring minorities had to fight against and over come to accomplish even the least change. Because parlamentarism withitsrepresentatives are by their very nature conservative., hence determined to perpetuate the old.

Of course, we are told by all politicians that revolutions can not be made, true, neither can they be decreed by a peace ofpaper,by a legislative enactment, or by law. All that these have everdecreed is thatrevolutionist should be imprisoned, shot or

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expelled from the party if they as much as dared believe in revolutionary methods

Some day the people will have to face facts, indeed a great many aredoing it already. Thexxxxxxt axxx namely that politics is a profession and a very shady one at that, that it has but one aim, ~~poor~~ to cheat betray and help rob the people, that its purpose is to keep the masses dependent at all cost, as this is the safest way of perpatuating the capitalist regime. In other words, the people will ha have to learn that all politicians whatever their color are conser vative by instinct, and mentality.

True friends of the people, real revolutionists, not thewater kind, can have nothing to do with the chis pool of politic Their aim must be to awaken conscious energetic daring minorities, who will not wait for election, or for the rights to place a man in power, but who will realize the necessity of acting at all times and when the situation demands, along revolutionary, direct lines, and in a way the will undermine the present pernicious cut throat system.

We may atill be a voice in the wilderness with this ide and without criticism of politics, while the dupes can point to large numbers, but we'd rather do without the company of people who can be led like sheep. Besides, it is not true that we stand alone. More and more

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anti political feeling is growing, and numbers of people are emerging from their stupid faith in the myth and wonderworker of political parties.

A alrge section of every city refrains from voting altogether out of disgust. In fact so great is this number that a politician in fear if his job has already suggested a law making voting cumpulsory. On the other hand many people vote of habit, as they go to Church out of habit, although they have long outgrown their belief.

But on the whole there is an ever increasing number of conscious intelligent workers emancipated and cured for all times from the politic bug. They have learned throug painful experience that they had been sold for a mess of pottage, that all political promises lack the vitality to lead the workers out of economic slavery and political tyranny. That therefore they must look for deliverence to themselves, to their own iniative, to their own solidaric revolutionary power. ~~whichxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxely~~ which will stand for no compromise and enter into no pact with the politicians of day.

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Social, caught in the politic l trap

Legends tell us that healthy new born in

would arouse hatred of evil spirits. In

obsess of mothers, evil ones stole into

the behind them

hi

on a face. Young

rid, it aroused the

en socialism

leaving behind a

under the name of

declared war

as to fe

lace it with

economic an being and harmony.

Two fundamental principles gave socialism

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raison d'etre, the wage system and private property, to

these were the enemies against whom socialism

hurled its bitterest attack and criticisms.

Private property and the wage system being

the staunch [illegible] of society, ever [illegible] who dared expose

their [illegible] society, a dan-

rous cha[illegible] socialism

carried [illegible] the

[illegible] contest

attributes.

[illegible] socialist [illegible] in

the crap[illegible] evil ones [illegible]. This

sort of socialism has either [illegible] the

unflinching attack against [illegible] system, or has [illegible] unrec-

ognizable exten[illegible]

The aim of soci[illegible] he or

crooked path of politicis as a means of capturing

the [illegible]

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yet it is the state which represents the mightest weap[illegible] that sustains private property and our system of wrong[illegible] and inequality, it is the power which protects the system [illegible] against our [illegible] determined revolutionary attac[illegible]

[illegible] organized [illegible] Anti[illegible] monopolistic manipulation of th[illegible] [illegible] vi[illegible] prey. Indeed, [illegible] in their [illegible] they will [illegible] [illegible] the anarchists [illegible] the state is n[illegible] half [illegible] would not o[illegible] co[illegible] should become [illegible] of the indus[illegible] rial [illegible] away with [illegible] specia[illegible] [illegible]sts and monopolies. Never does it occur to these aberra[illegible] of a great idea, that the [illegible] state is the coldest most inhuman monopolist, and the [illegible] economic dictatorship.

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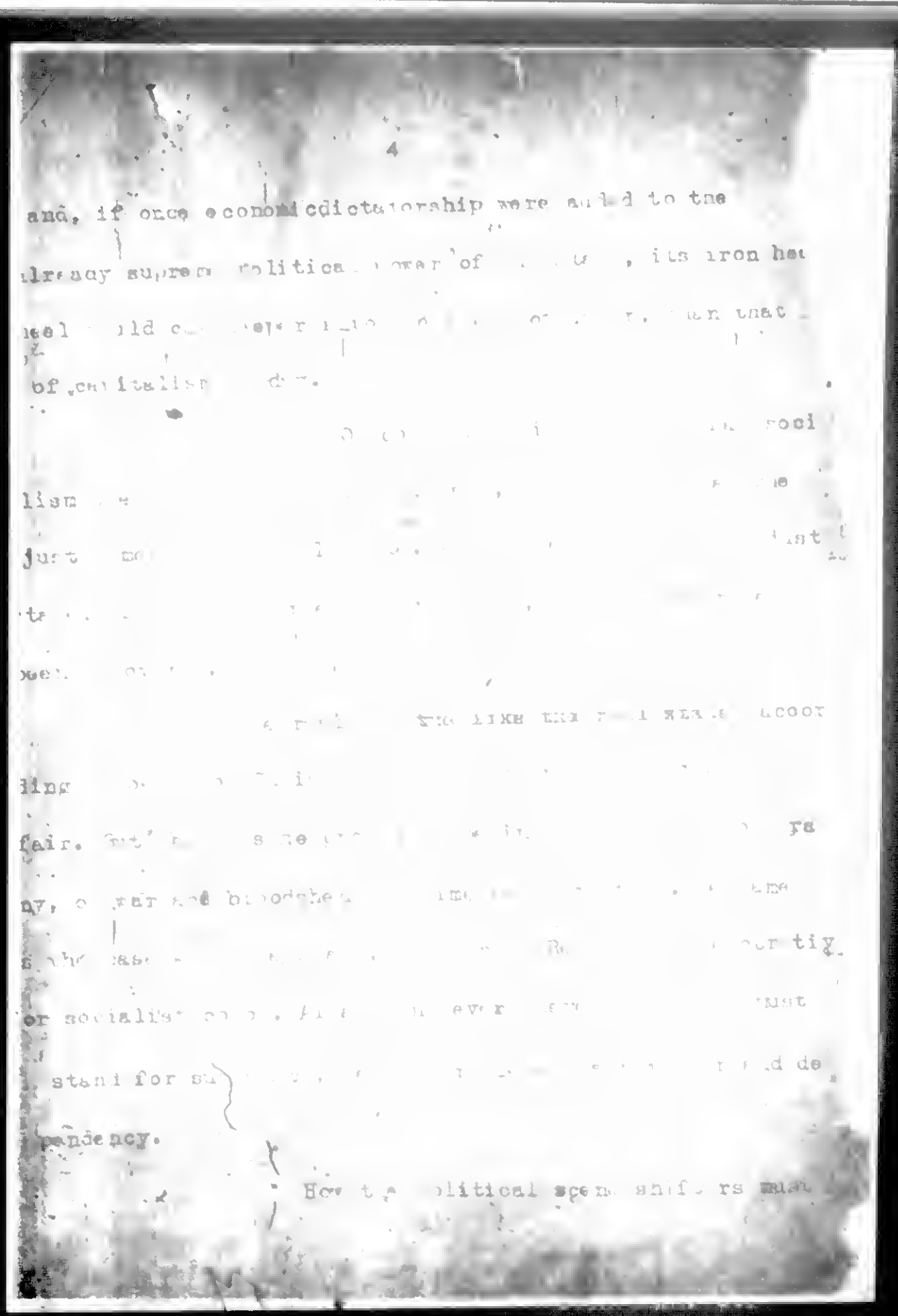

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and, if once economic dictatorship were added to the already supreme political power of [illegible], its iron heel [illegible] of capitalism [illegible].

[illegible] social[illegible] just [illegible] power [illegible] like the [illegible] accor[illegible] ding [illegible] fair. [illegible] ra[illegible] ny, [illegible] and bloodshed [illegible] property. [illegible] or socialist [illegible] must stand for su[illegible] de[illegible] pendency.

How the political scene shifters must [illegible]

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grin when they see the rush of the people to the new at-
attraction in the political moving picture show. The
poor deluded soul [illegible] forever fed on the
poli[illegible] medicine, either of the republican elephant
[illegible] the socialistic mule,
[illegible] a new rag time
[illegible]

[illegible] runs
[illegible] moves the giant
[illegible]

[illegible] sincere, if
such [illegible] petty refo
form [illegible] present system.
Socialism [illegible] and irrevocable
[illegible] anti authoritarian, anti
capitalistic, anti religious, inshort, it could and would
not make peace with a single institution of to day. But
since it was led astray by the evil spirit of politics,

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it lan[illegible] in [illegible] war and has not but one desire, to adjus[illegible] itself [illegible] war on confi[illegible] of its cage, to becom[illegible] [illegible] power that [illegible] slain [illegible] [illegible] and left behin[illegible]

[illegible]

since [illegible] socia lism has [illegible] of its [illegible] strong [illegible] allow [illegible] [illegible] irs, governm[illegible] offic[illegible] [illegible] grown [illegible] otent, [illegible] hypnosis [illegible] proportion to its [illegible]

The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] for the political cold storage of socia[illegible] campaigns, every direcy independent and courageous attac on ca[illegible]

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Capitalism and the State are being discouraged and ta-
bood. The stupid voters wait patiently from one poli-
cal performance to another, to give the comrade actors
in the representative centre a show, maybe maybe they
will make a new stunt. Meanwhile the comrade Congressman
introduces cards upon cards of resolutions for the waste
basket, quoting the perversion of the very things
socialism has one [illegible] overthrow. And the comrade
Mayors are busy [illegible] the business interests of their
towns [illegible] in make because no harm will
ever come to [illegible] so in [illegible] vor. and if such
punch and [illegible] be criticised, the good socia-
lists [illegible] that we must wait
and until the socialists will have the majority.

The political trap has transfered socialism
from the proud uncompromising position of a revolutionary
minority, fighting fundamentals, and undermining the stro
stronghold of wealth and power, to [illegible]

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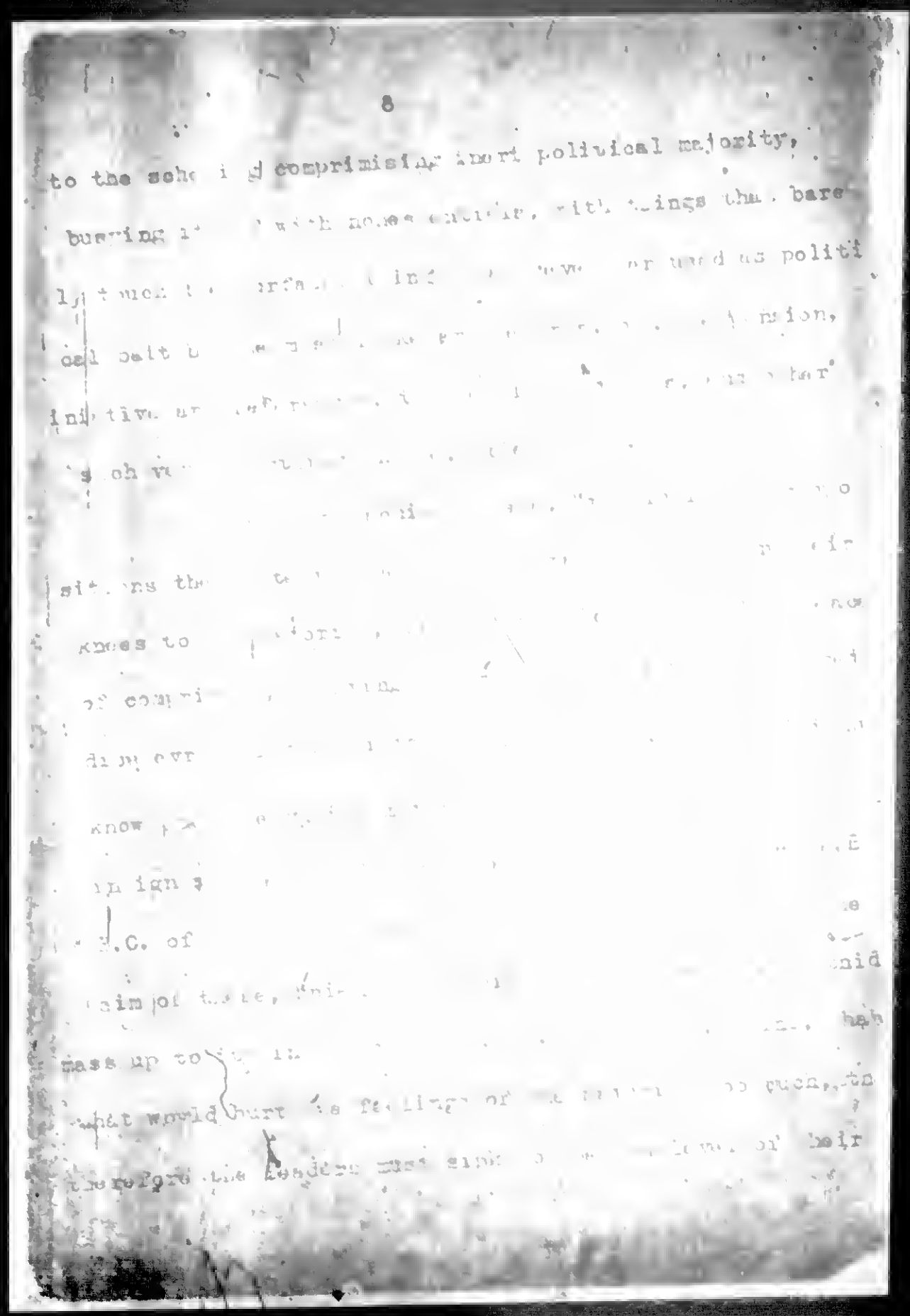

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to the scho[illegible] compromising [illegible] political majority,

burning [illegible] with [illegible] with things that bare

[illegible] used as politi

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

knees to [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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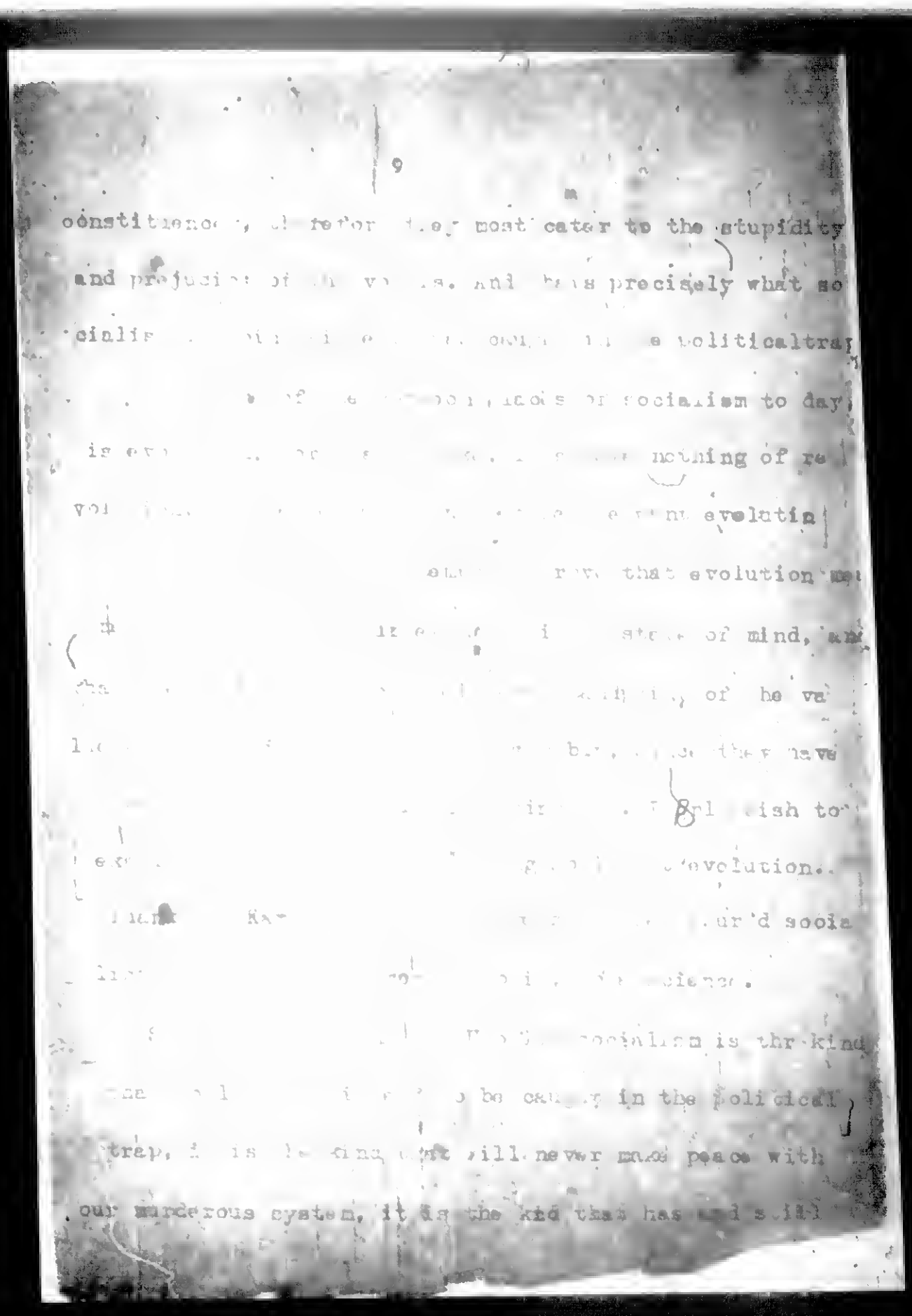

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constituenc[illegible] most cater to the stupidity and prejudice[illegible] precisely what so cialis[illegible] politicaltrap [illegible] socialism to day [illegible] nothing of re [illegible] evolution [illegible] that evolution [illegible] of mind, an [illegible] of he va [illegible] ish to [illegible] evolution. [illegible] ur'd socia [illegible] science.

[illegible] socialism is thr kind [illegible] be caught in the political trap, [illegible] will never make peace with our murderous system, it is the kind that has and still

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doon i[illegible] re [illegible] zeal, coir[illegible] and idealism.

It is [illegible] kind of [illegible]cial[illegible]m cha[illegible] none of the-

disg[illegible] [illegible] Hilquit,

Ghen [illegible]

exis[illegible]

bili[illegible]

and [illegible]

tivi[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]cia

lism [illegible]

ciali[illegible]m. [illegible] [illegible]ure of

some of the or[illegible] [illegible], we

will see, how [illegible] cr[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]ing the scienti

fic conceptions are.

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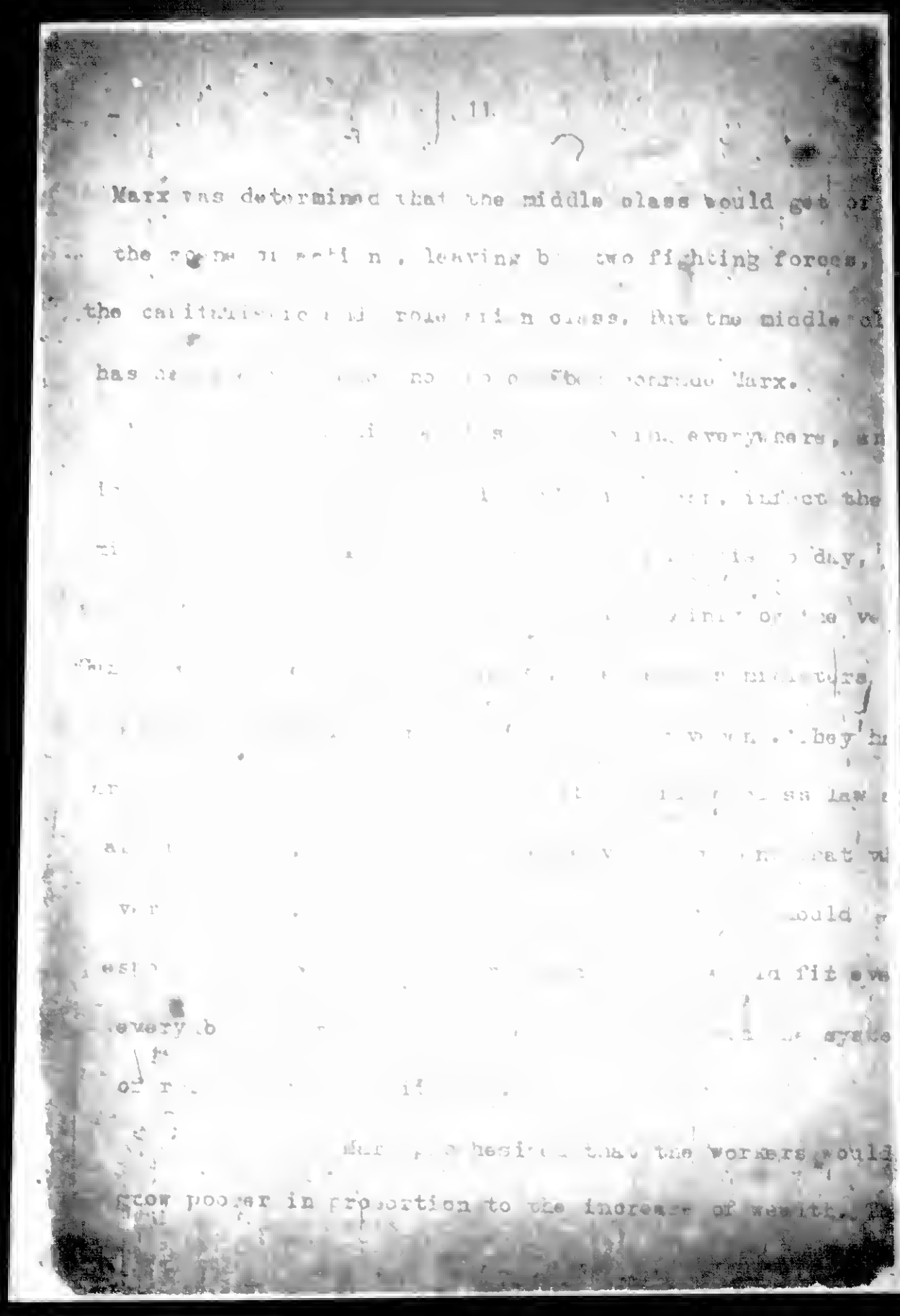

Marx was determined that the middle class would get off the [illegible] leaving but two fighting forces, the capitalistic and proletarian class. But the middle cl[illegible] has [illegible] no [illegible] Marx. [illegible] everywhere, an[illegible] affect the [illegible] day, [illegible] of the we[illegible] ministers [illegible] they h[illegible] law [illegible] that w[illegible] would [illegible] fit eve[illegible] every b[illegible] system [illegible] hesitate that the workers would grow poorer in proportion to the increase of wealth. [illegible]

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Social[ism], Caught in the Political Trap / Emma Goldman.— [1913?].— 15 p.; 19 × 13 cm.

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Where and how does it assert itself? Surely, if it were an inuate quality, the women would have long ere this been [illegible] in their first act would have be[illegible] clean from [illegible] part pari[illegible] critic[illegible]

[illegible] never be[illegible] [illegible] roots [illegible] the one [illegible] now then [illegible] aims [illegible] [illegible] class [illegible] [illegible] movement, in [illegible] system, in [illegible] in [illegible] every institution [illegible] or no [illegible]

The political societies care nothing at all for such a class consci[illegible] on the contrary, [illegible]

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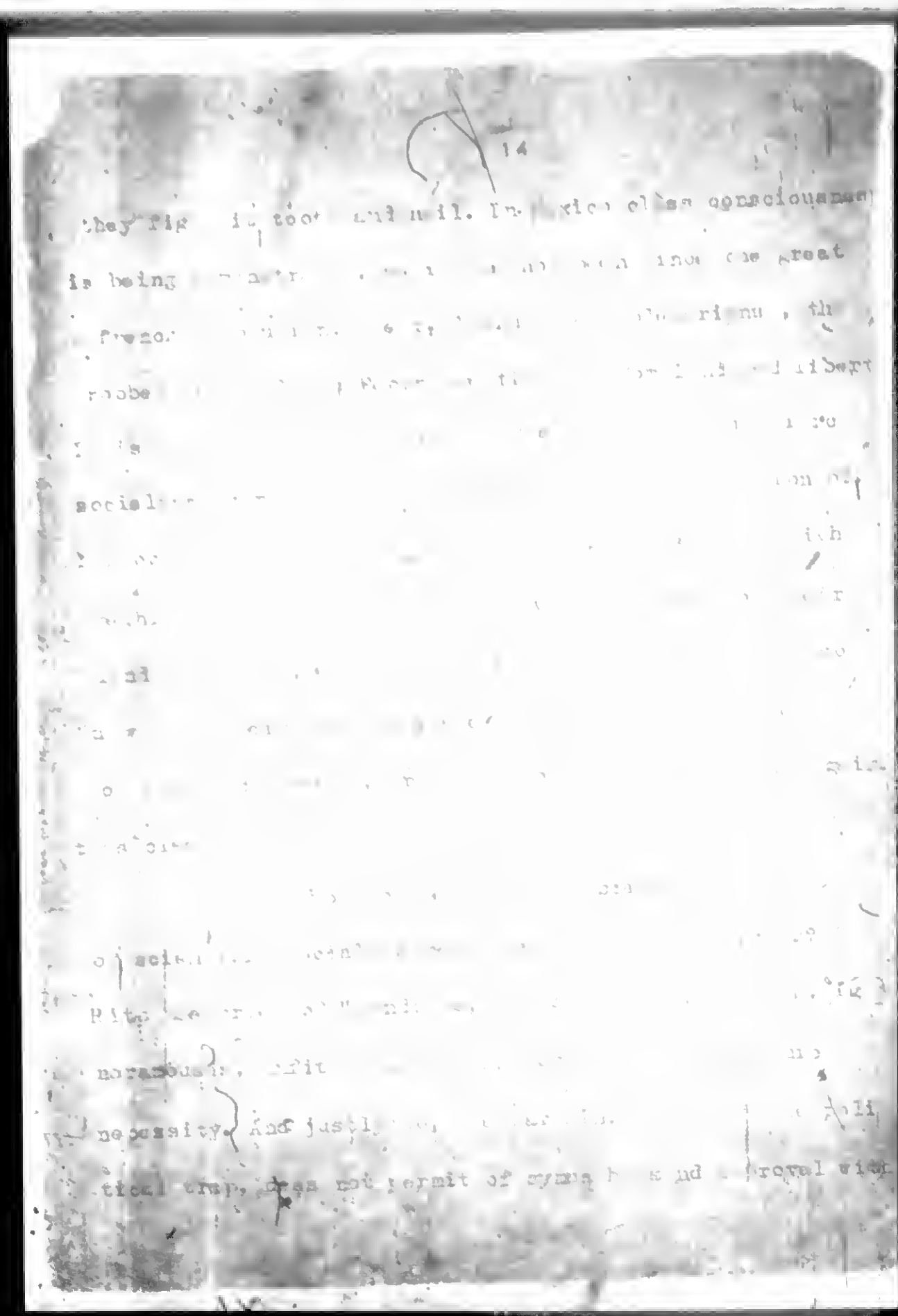

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15

the sublime wrath o

It must move in straight laced legal bounds, and the

Yaqquies, the Mexican peons have broken all laws, all pro

priety, they own and the impudence to expropriate the land

exploiters, they have taken possession of

have driven back their tyrants

aspirants for

grying herd,

being one

can not

consistent

those,

clung conscious

who

is treated, how

how the anti anarchic

short how every spook

prejudice is treated with kid gloves not to hurt its se

sensitive souls.

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Vice and the

[illegible] say that the [illegible]
[illegible]ght has again been born [illegible]. The Rosenthal [illegible]
proof were necessary that the police Dept. is the [illegible]
the very things the good but stupid citizens expect the [illegible]
eradicate. But to take the Rosenthal case as an isolated [illegible]
[illegible] vice and crime is even more stupid than to expect the po[illegible]
keep the City clean from vice.

To understand the Rosenthals and the other representatives of vice and crime, we must I believe first free ourselves from the hot or cold though, puritanic attitude to[illegible] the subject, since it is this narrow religious and moral [illegible]
[illegible]ich is not a little responsible for the existence of the [illegible] and their class.

The average citizens to day demands that [illegible] city, blind to the fact that it is the law which [illegible] is responsible for the existence of the evil it [illegible]
[illegible]ndeats.

For instance, gambling in Tenderloin [illegible] is not only respectable and permissible [illegible]

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[illegible] the other hand the law decrees that any one engaged [illegible] petty crime is a criminal and that gambling houses must [illegible] tolerated. Now, what does the law accomplish through such stupid discrimination? It simply furnishes the Police Dept with unlimited opportunity for graft and blackmail. The small Rosenthals are literally turned over to the police and the moment they can no longer satisfy the insatiable hunger of the profiteers, they are given over to prison or put out of business altogether.

In rare occasions it has happen that the victim grows tired of paying, it sells [illegible] protection he requests and then he is murdered in cold blood [illegible] another police scandal. The most amusing part of the [illegible] citizens. They rub their [illegible] from sleep, blind to the fact that [illegible] scandal brought to light by the Rosenthal tragedy is not half as dangerous to the city as the scandals that continue in the dark.

Who then is responsible for this state of affairs? [illegible] and the courts to a large extent. This was drastically expressed [illegible] be said, if you give the police the right to go

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[illegible] the power to look for some thing [illegible] [illegible] pain for keeping his findings quiet.

[illegible] our reformers had sense, which unfortunately they lack they would demand with us that all laws declaring gambling and prostitution as vice should be abolished. The logic for that demand could easily be proven by the fact that our entire industrial social and commercial system rests on gambling and prostitution and that it is stupid to say the least to discriminate against one particular branch.

But who could ever credit reformers with so much wisdom and courage, thus they continue to clamour for the enforcement of the laws against vice even though they have proven a thousand times that the law is responsible for the things it goes to war against.

The same holds true of prostitution. It must be ridiculous as we are told, or the victim is merely punished, but the reformers help to frame laws for the very conditions that help to create prostitution. Really as regards sexual vice the aspect is even more terrible than that of gambling, because of the many causes that lead up to prostitution.

[illegible] your dense attitude towards every [illegible] [illegible] vice

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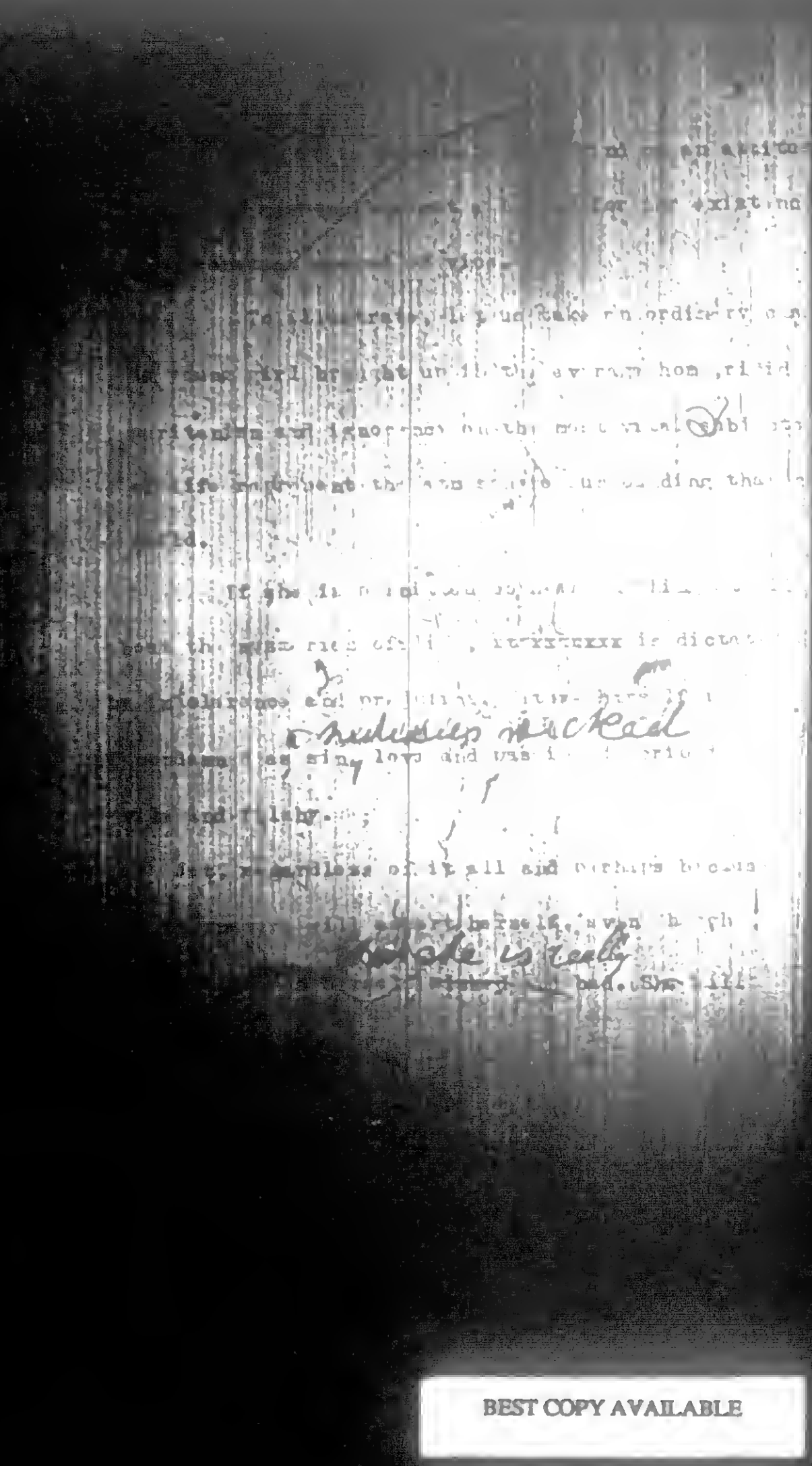

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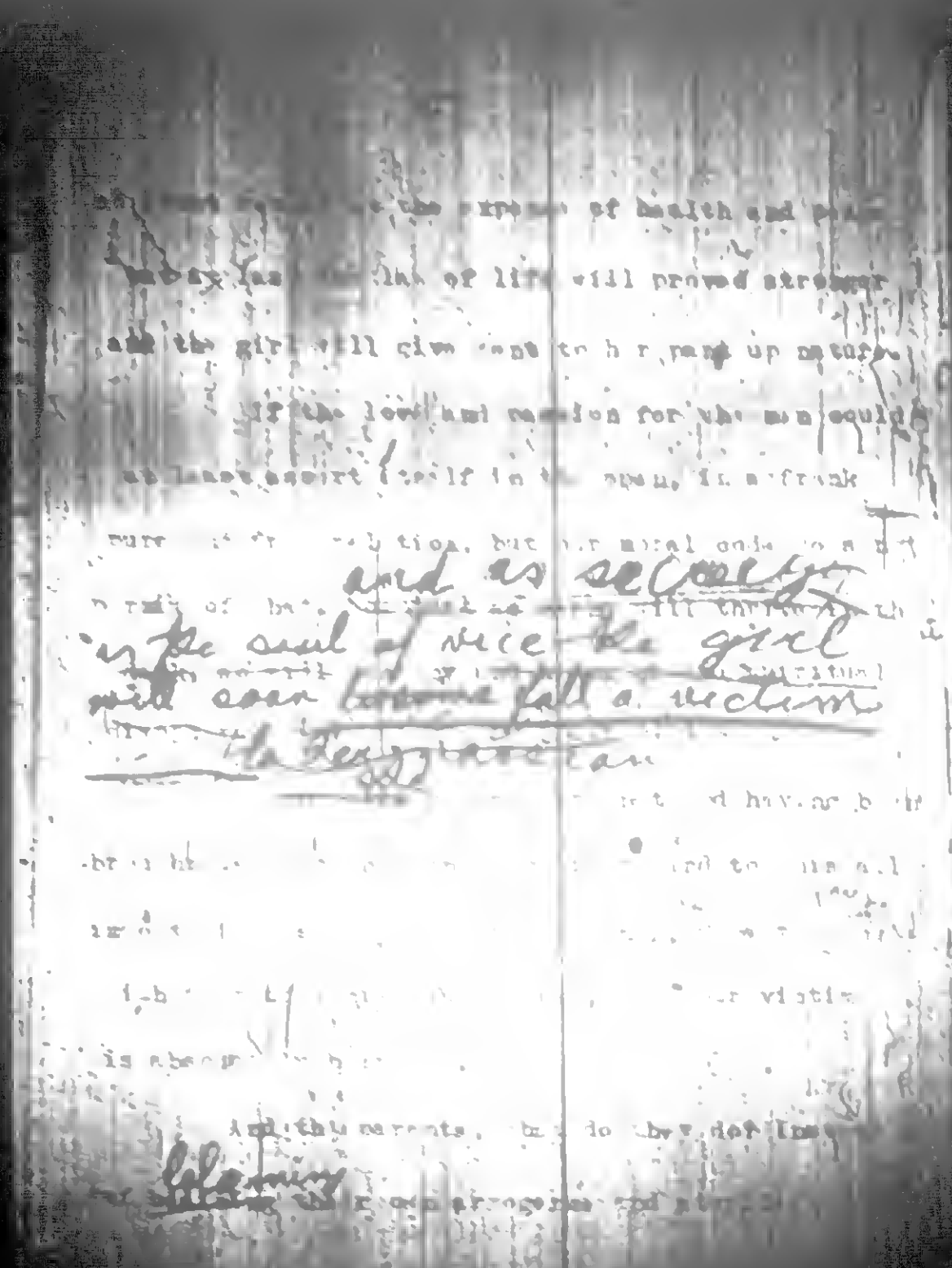

and as secondary
is the soul of vice the girl
will soon become full a victim
to Ferry's

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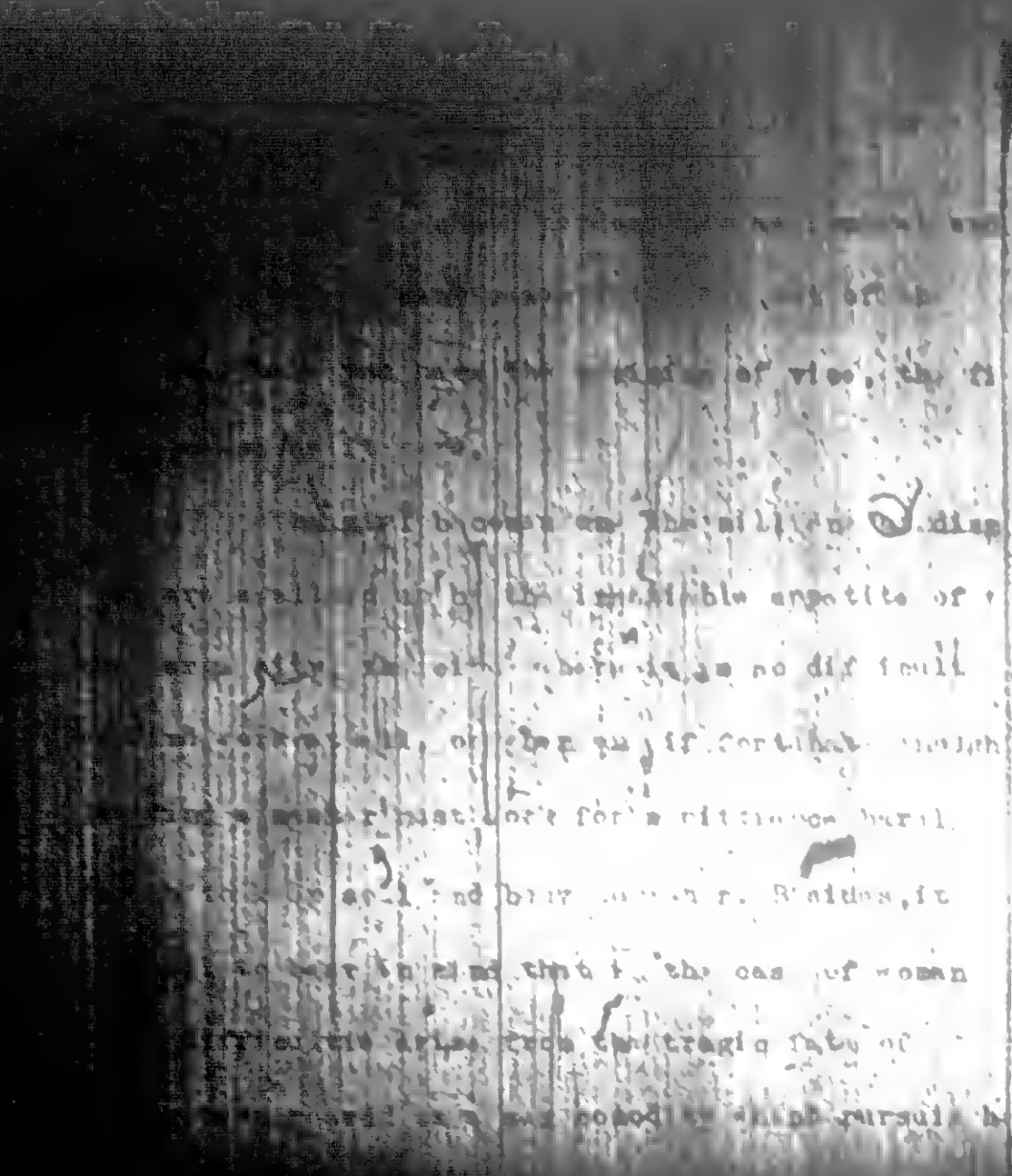

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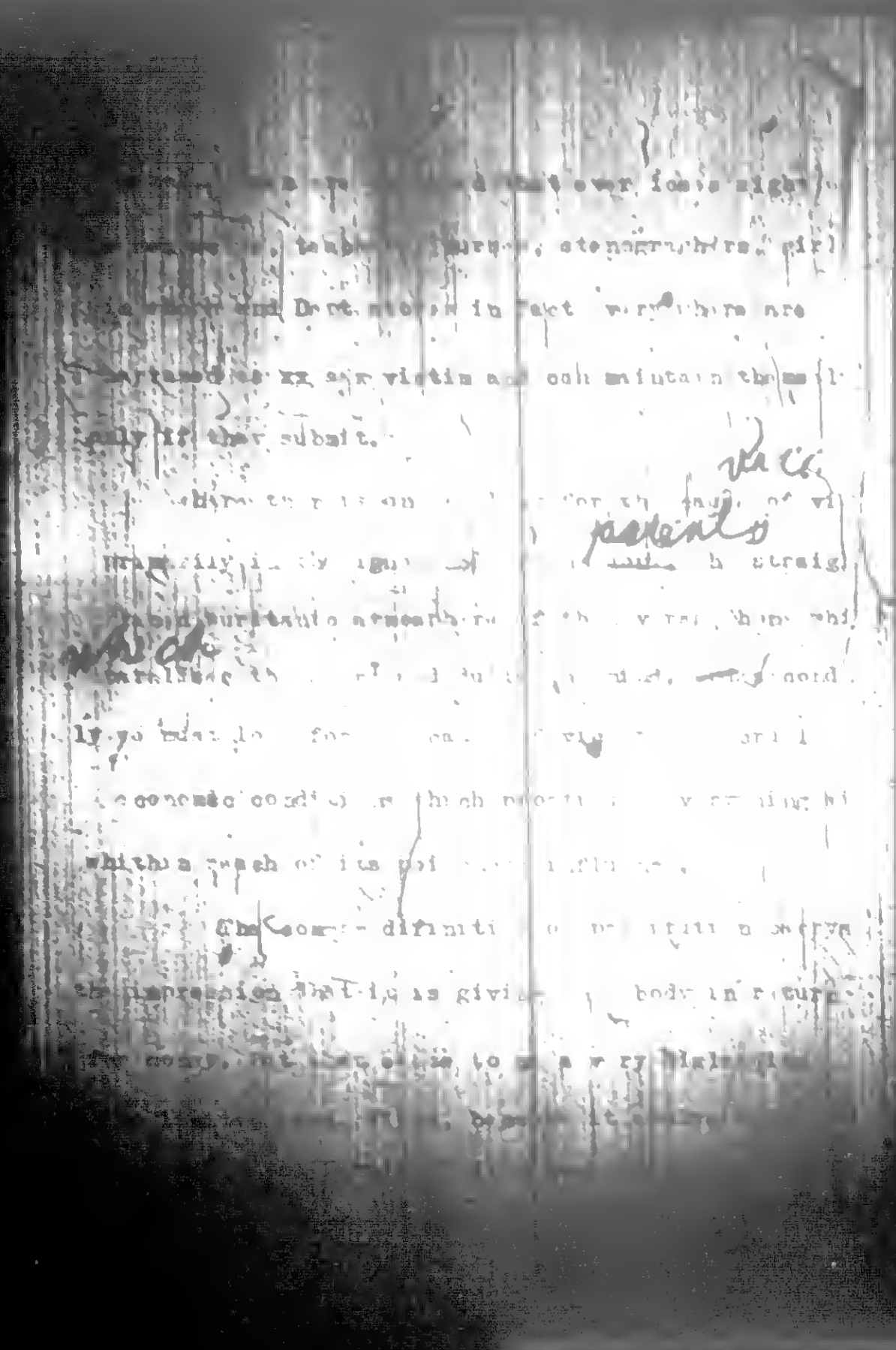

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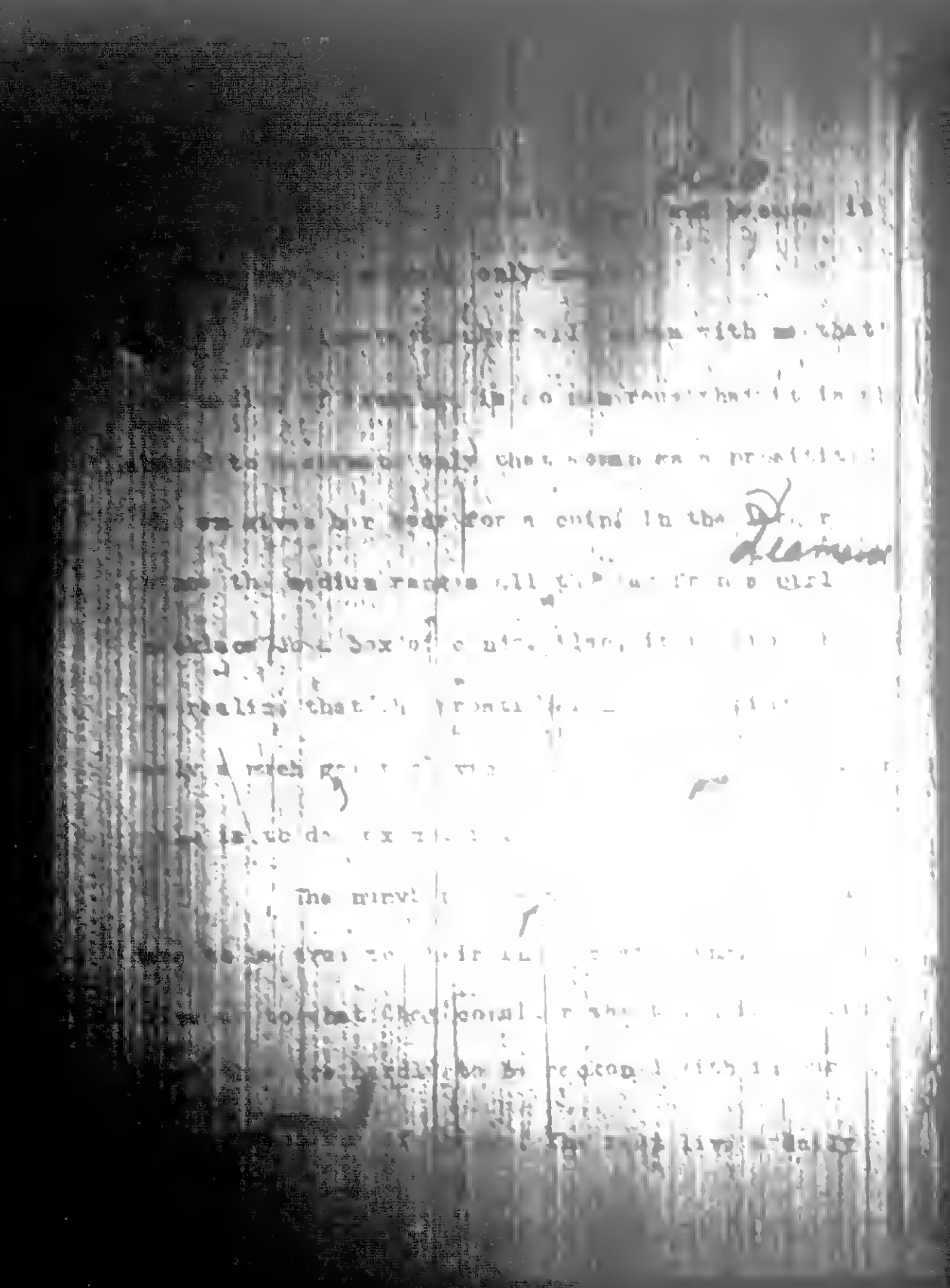

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[illegible] and submit to a [illegible] in our social and political life, which [illegible] to be based on nothing else but the most [illegible] humbug. Is [illegible] not a more terrible, more injurious form of prostitution than that of the poor girl in the red light district? [illegible] no one [illegible] would set a commission for such vice, nor yet have the prostitution of mind and soul should be driven out from our midst.

It m[illegible] that the [illegible] criterion [illegible] mighty dollar, it is the [illegible] which poisons our life, which infects all our social relations and which is the foundation of all other vice and crime. No [illegible] can ever be cured so long as society

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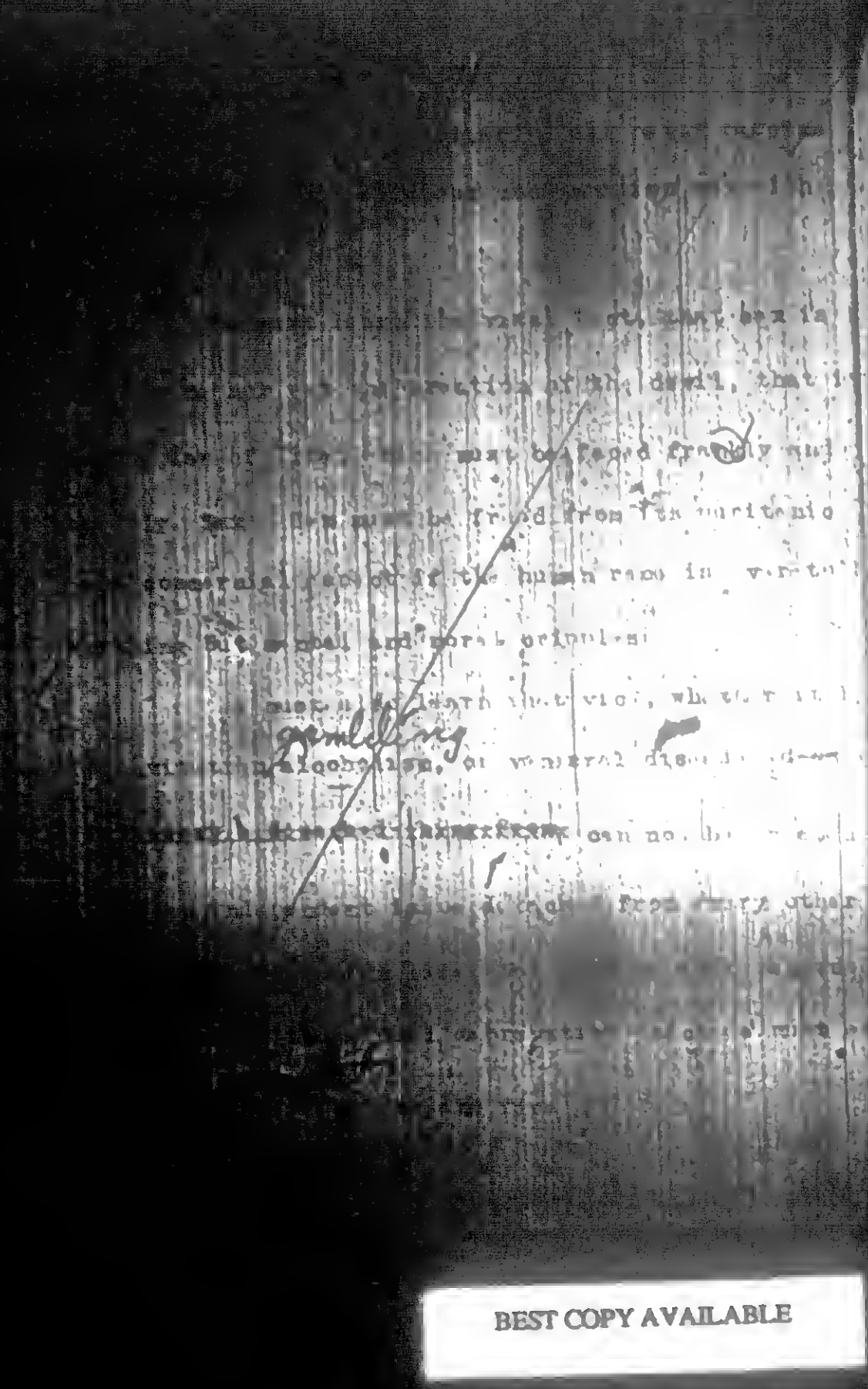

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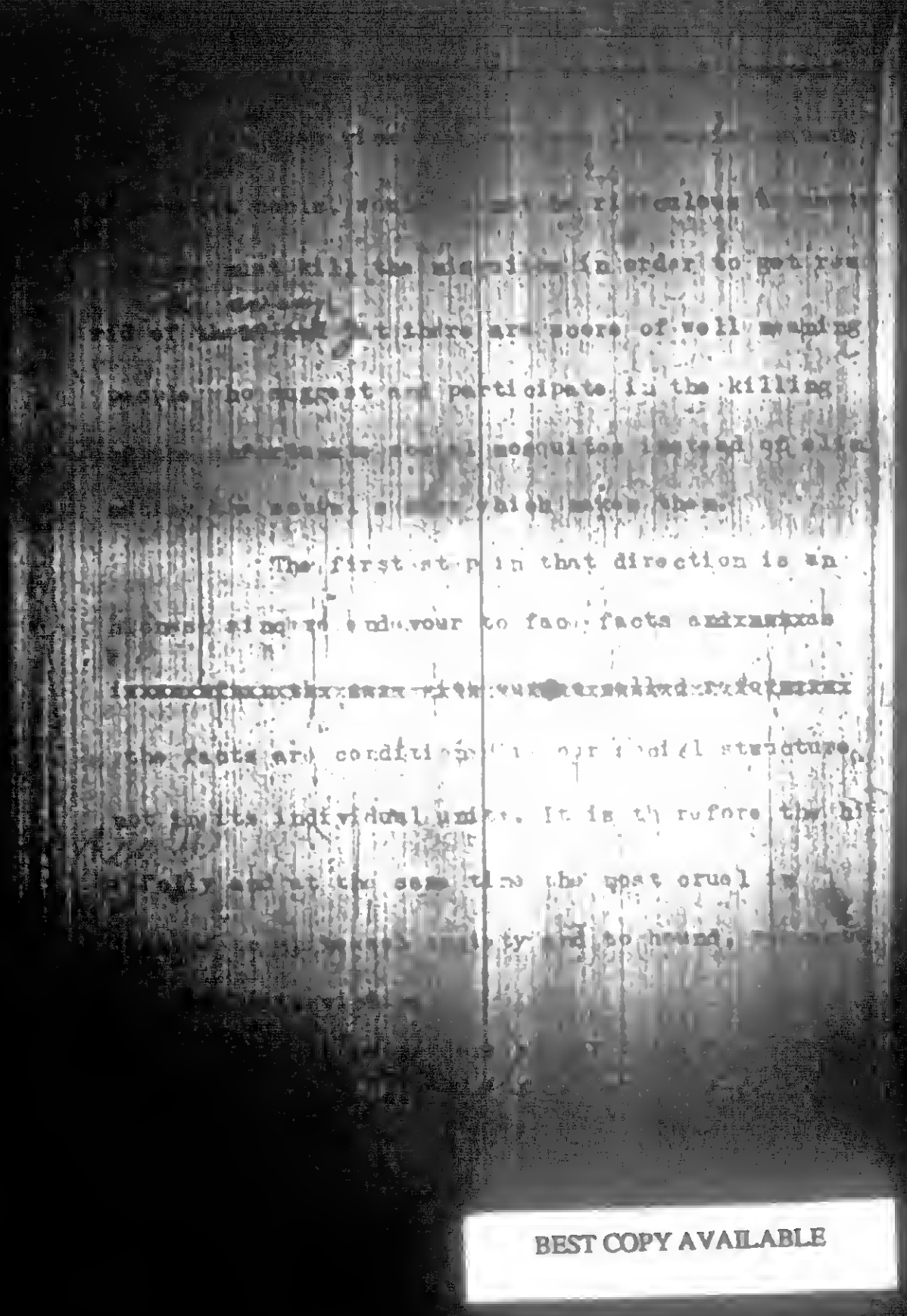

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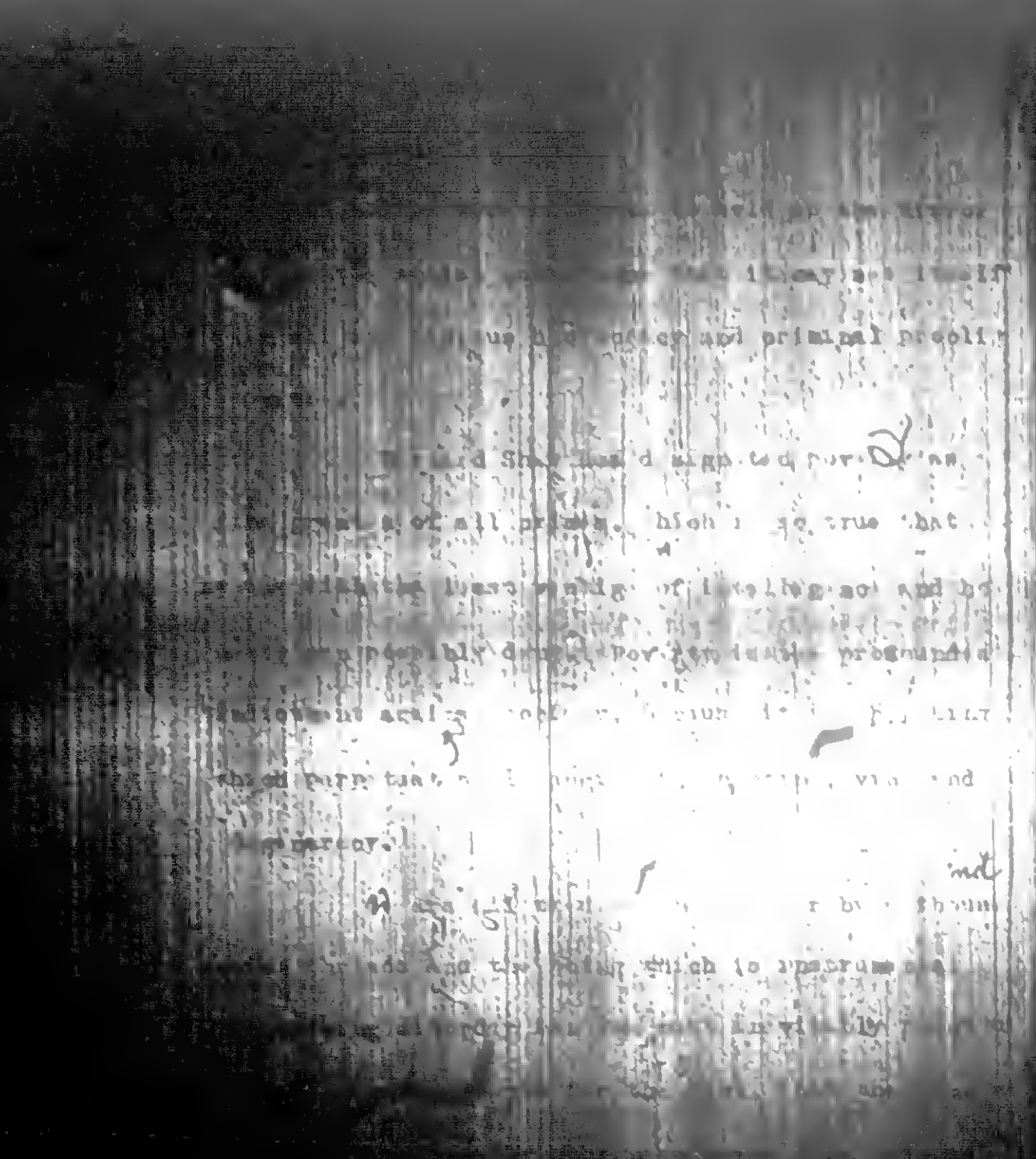

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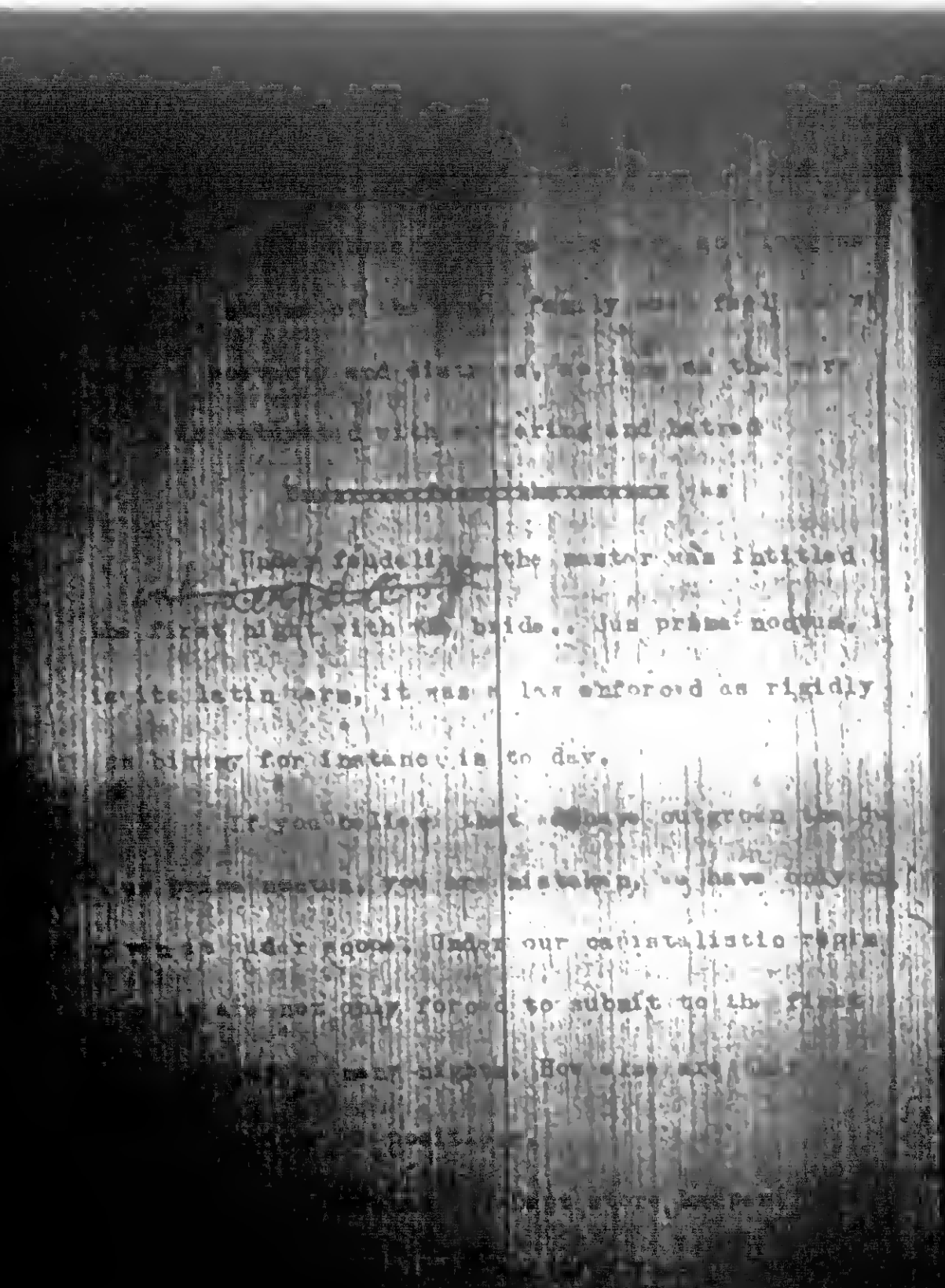

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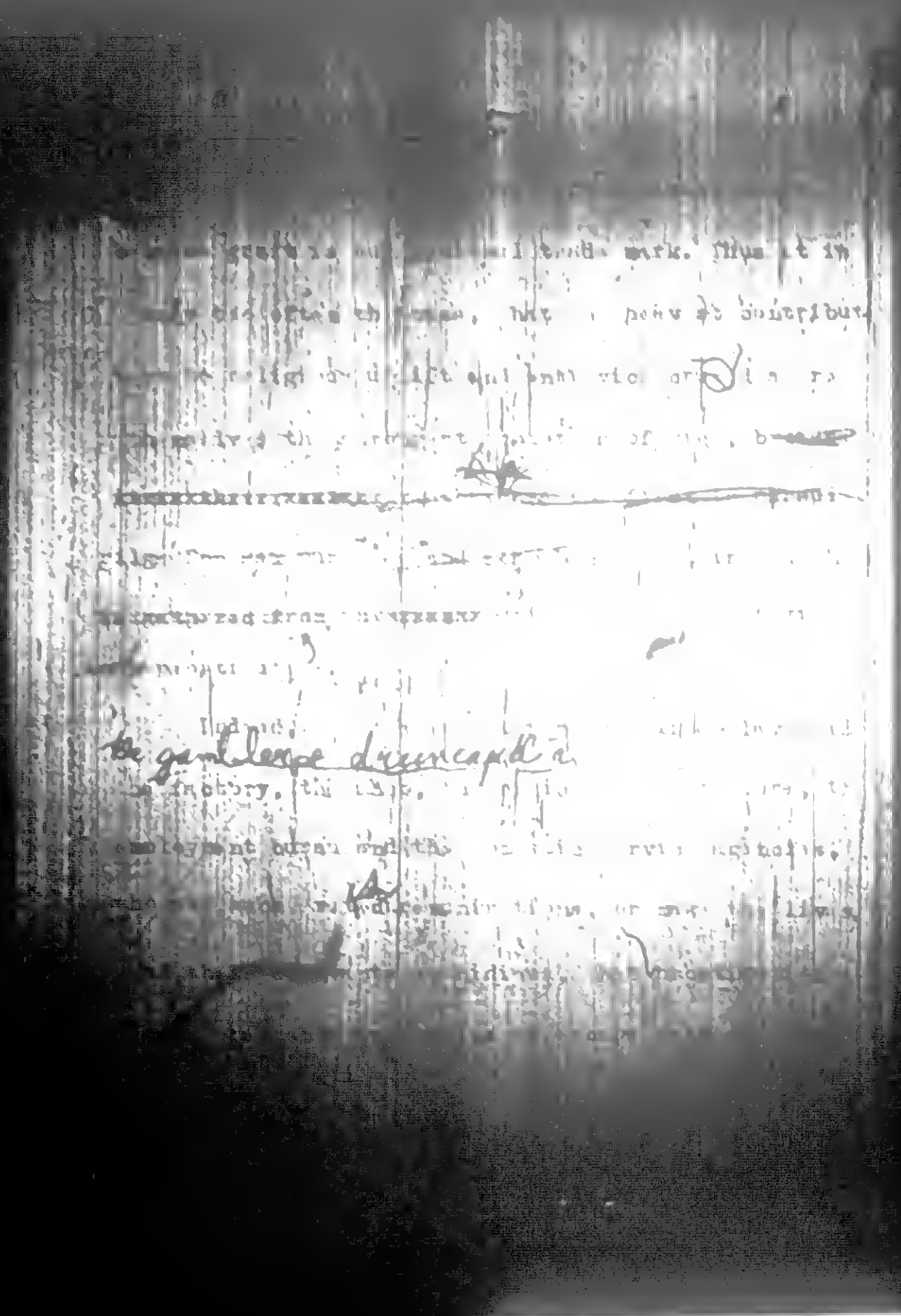

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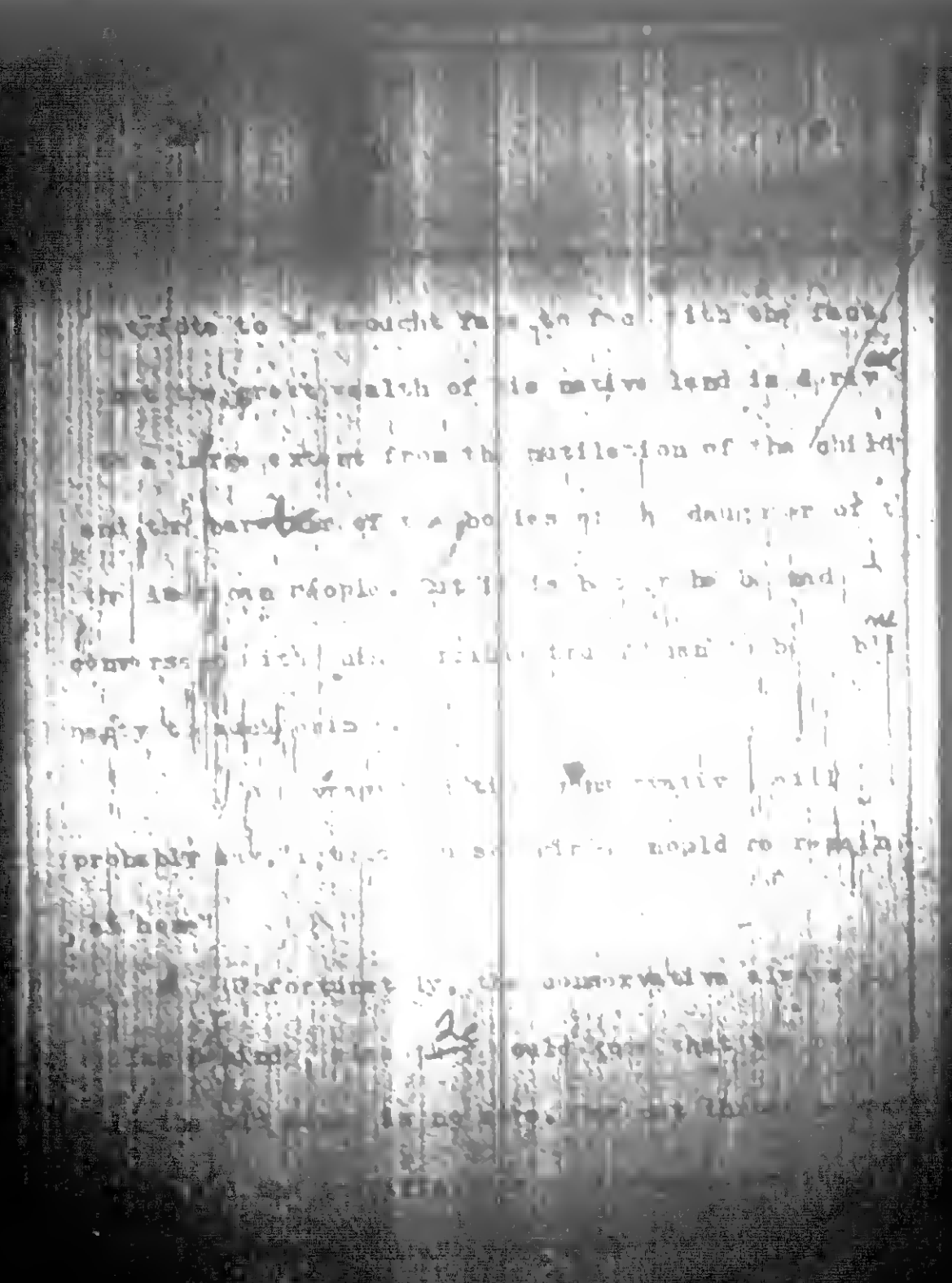

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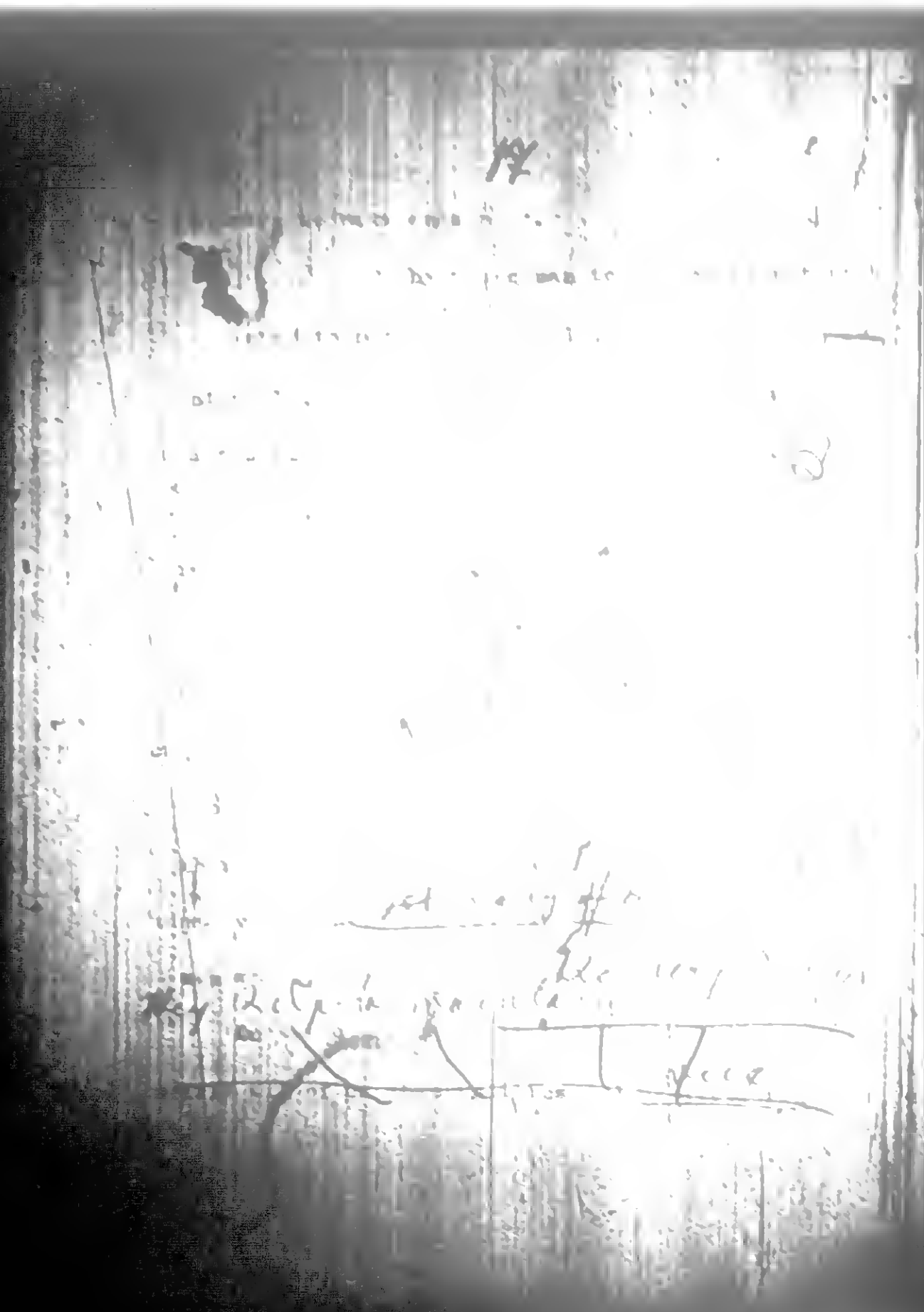

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[illegible] like

[illegible] is not the Rosenthal case should convince

[illegible] the police Dept. the district

[illegible] and the criminal courts all prey upon the flesh and blood of

the unfortunate girl, she is much more at the mercy of every body,

the man who buys her, the blackmailer who observes her, she keeper

who grows rich on her and the courts who send her up the Island, all

these parasyte are supported out of the blood money of the street

walker

No matter how deprived the man who buys her embraces, he would

not as much as lift his finger to protect his victim. And if she

can no longer pay the policeman or detective she is hustled up

to court, where she has even less chance with the judge than with

the her bully. In other words, the law is here to aridecate vice, but

all it does is to classify, label and blackmail it

In some cities people who hold property in the red light

district are punished, but as the red light district is part of our

system this new law will only help to transfer and drive the girls

[illegible] respectable districts of the city. The too, there is

[illegible] money from the proprietors [illegible]

[illegible] etc

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[illegible] there is nothing to reform in our syst[illegible] and catching up. I do believe however that a deep [illegible] of the subject would mean a step in the right direc[illegible] [illegible] realization that vice and crime is a result not a cause [illegible] they do not spring from vicious individuals the very crime or [illegible] prostitution, but that they are themselves the result of vicious institutions and most deserving of our sympathy and help.

Occasionally, [illegible] Garson for instances bri[illegible] the very [illegible] against vice [illegible] gambling [illegible] crusade [illegible] the worthless [illegible]

Unfortunately [illegible] conclusion, his remedy is simply the law, [illegible] external decency. The old old story, hide the poison, paint the sore spots with [illegible] of respectability and thank God we can keep up appearance of being [illegible] civilization. Even though the representatives of the [illegible] they were perjurers and grafters

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earth can help us out of this [illegible]

[illegible] a complete [illegible]ental change in the social p[illegible]

[illegible] social aspect of life will free us from crime, vice and

the police scourge. Meanwhile let us face facts and have the honesty

to admit, that the Rosenthals, and their female consorts are Angels

compared with the hypocritic moralists

who find their gratification in hounding down the victims

of their own making.

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Youth in Revolt / Emma Goldman. -- 46 p. ; 30 × 23 cm.

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page 11-14

YOUTH IN REVOLT

YOUTH HAS ALWAYS BEEN IN REVOLT AND ALWAYS HAD ITS OWN PROBLEMS. INDEED, THE REBELLION OF YOUTH IS AS OLD AS HUMANITY ITSELF.

IT IS THE ETERNAL BATTLE BETWEEN THE OLD AND YOUNG GENERATION BROUGHT ABOUT THROUGH THE DIFFERENCE IN ~~BLOOD~~ age, EXPERIENCE, SPIRIT, AND SOCIAL VALUES.

NO LESS A LITERARY GENIUS THAN THE RUSSIAN WRITER TURGENEV HAS PORTRAYED THE AGE-LONG STRUGGLE BETWEEN FATHERS AND SONS IN HIS WORK BY THAT NAME.

HIS ~~CHARACTER~~ BASAROV HAS REMAINED THE TIMELESS REBEL AGAINST THE ENCROACHMENTS OF PARENTS ~~OF THEIR CHILDREN~~ AND THE SOCIAL CONVENTIONS SO DEAR TO THE HEART OF THE OLD GENERATION.

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Youth is daring
and courage and because
it has not yet ex-
perienced danger.
[illegible] not realize
that [illegible] ~~defying~~ daring
means ~~facing~~ danger
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] critical attitude
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] ta
[illegible] the rude
awakening ~~[illegible]~~ inexperience
~~[illegible]~~ [illegible]
[illegible]

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the youth will depend by his future outlook on life actually

~~NOTHING~~ NO ONE LEARNS THROUGH THE EXPERIENCE OF ANOTHER. THIS IS TRUE OF NATIONS NO LESS THAN OF INDIVIDUALS.

IN POINT OF FACT FEW LEARN EVEN FROM THEIR OWN EXPERIENCE. HOW CAN ONE EXPECT ~~CHILDREN~~ YOUTH TO CONTENT THEMSELVES OR ACCEPT THE LESSON FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THEIR ~~PARENTS~~.

[illegible]

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6 4

21942

a ideal, and is authority
a machine to slave
upon. Life is age
an unbroken, undam-
med stream. Make
just life, heart,
[illegible] new,
that the time will
come when the
various growing generation
will make life a still more
noble, more rich, more
human, more worthy of
the name of man &c.

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And that time came
when it was a crime
[illegible] advocated
[illegible] a
[illegible] say
[illegible] Sensational
[illegible]
[illegible] Danger
not so profound
as [illegible] and
[illegible] made to
identify [illegible]
in 1906 [illegible] Juvenile
work in the Seventh

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4 5

Lavish generosity
more surrounded Alex
Berkman. Also
I was more self-centered
The Berkman struggle
for freedom Berkman
Aims, which culminated
in his arrest, deprived
him of seemingly indefatigable
vigor
His will, unmanageable
was not yet consumed
[illegible] Congression
of life. He [illegible] to
[illegible] to live dangerously

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6

Sunny Love Business
would have man
of the old values
he too ~~[illegible]~~ of
~~[illegible]~~ the dead
would be not
turning to trample
the restless spirit
of the "new" quest
for the new.
Necessarily say
that the Russian Revolution
[illegible] Revolution
[illegible] Rain-bow [illegible]
[illegible] understand Bakunin

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H 7

2194.6

There is more truth
than fiction in
the saying that
"Poverty breeds
crime" as years
we have to pay
for our
indifference
where the great
Social Evil
"Prostitution"
is concerned
who authorized
the Revolt of

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1a 6

21947

Youth. The Romance of Werther and ~~Bud~~ Emile were as tragic ~~the~~ an ~~individual~~ ~~of~~ expression of the ~~of~~ conflict between the rising generation as Dickens [illegible]

But nothing in the literature [illegible] past or our own century has given us a clearer

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21948

Youth! 12 pp. Jan 9
Voice of the Revolt
of Youth. Hence
Alice, when the Rad
Re, not, ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ been the
young generation
~~[illegible]~~, revolting against
the dull
this monotonous
more than any other
but it is the spirit
the eternal spirit struggle
between the young
and old generation

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12 10

The Masterknowledge
Polnes ~~through~~ lived
by the regulations
dictating of Human
youth will offer
the [illegible] a [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]. But
he may not [illegible] the
[illegible] on his own
[illegible] [illegible] he came
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] large
to the [illegible] life
with [illegible] the
[illegible] rights of [illegible]
[illegible]

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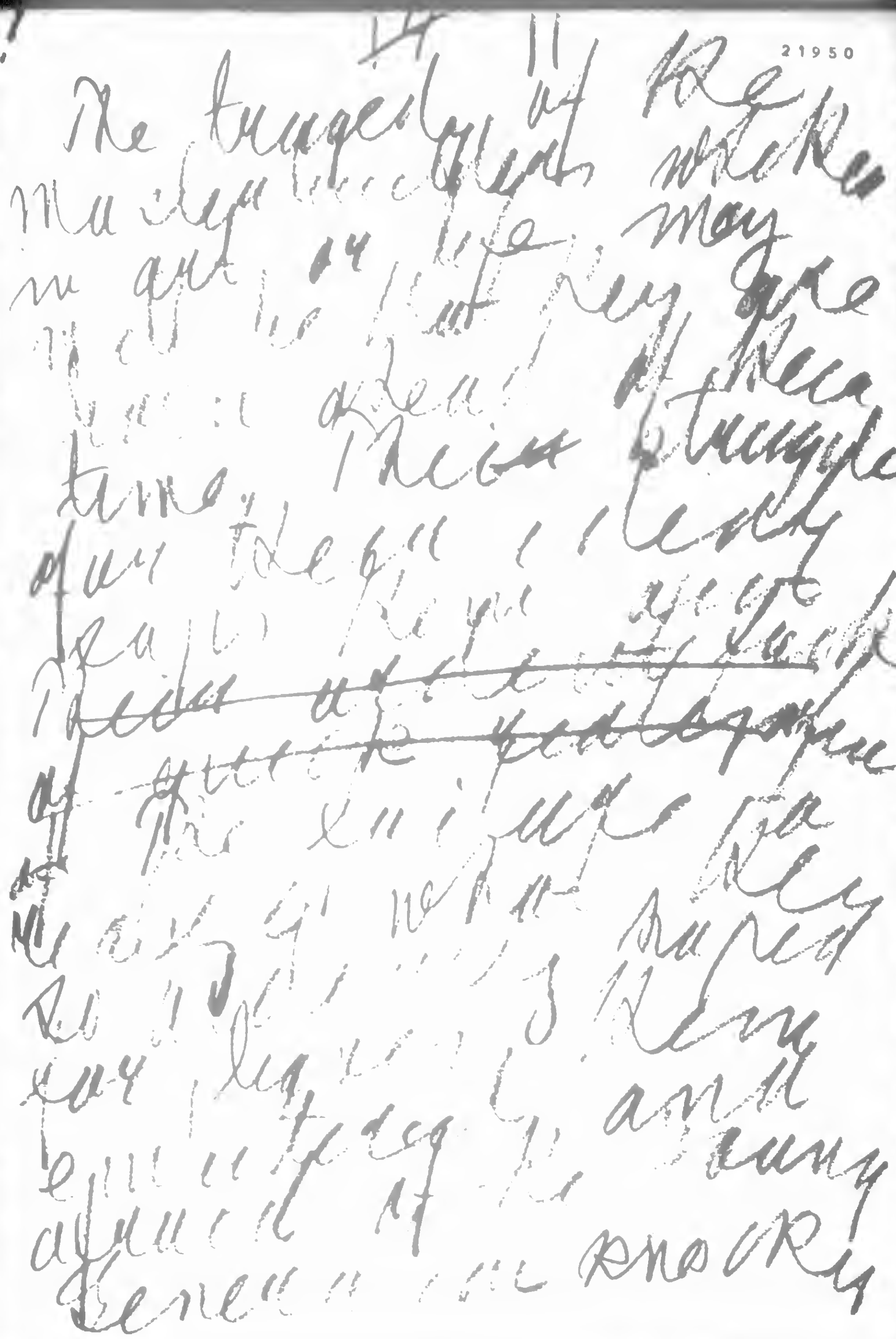

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2 -

21951

DIVERGENT THEIR CREEDS.

FEAR AND DUTY ~~ARE~~ THE TWIN SCOURGE THAT LAMES, DRIVES AND TERRORIZE THE MIND OF THE CHILD AND YOUTH.

FEAR OF PARENTS, OF GOD, OF ONE'S NEIGHBORS, OF SCHOOL AUTHORITY, OF PUBLIC OPINION, OF THE POLICEMAN'S BUTTONS, OF LOSING ONE'S JOB. FROM THE CRADLE TO THE GRAVE FEAR -- BLACK AND SINISTER HOLDS YOUTH IN ITS GRIP.

THE CONCEPT OF DUTY. WHAT A CURSE IT HAS BEEN. AND HOW WIDE-SPREAD IT IS TODAY. PARENTS, LAWS, POLITICAL PARTIES OF THE RIGHT AND THE LEFT SING ITS PRAISE,

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23952

IT WAS DUTY THAT ~~SENT MILLIONS~~ TO SLAUGHTER,

KILLED TEN MILLION, WOUNDED AND MAIMED ANOTHER

TWENTY, AND PLOUGHED THE BLOOD-DRENCHED FIELD

OF EUROPE FOR A CROP OF PEACE DUTIES MORE

DEVASTATING THAN THAT OF THE WAR.

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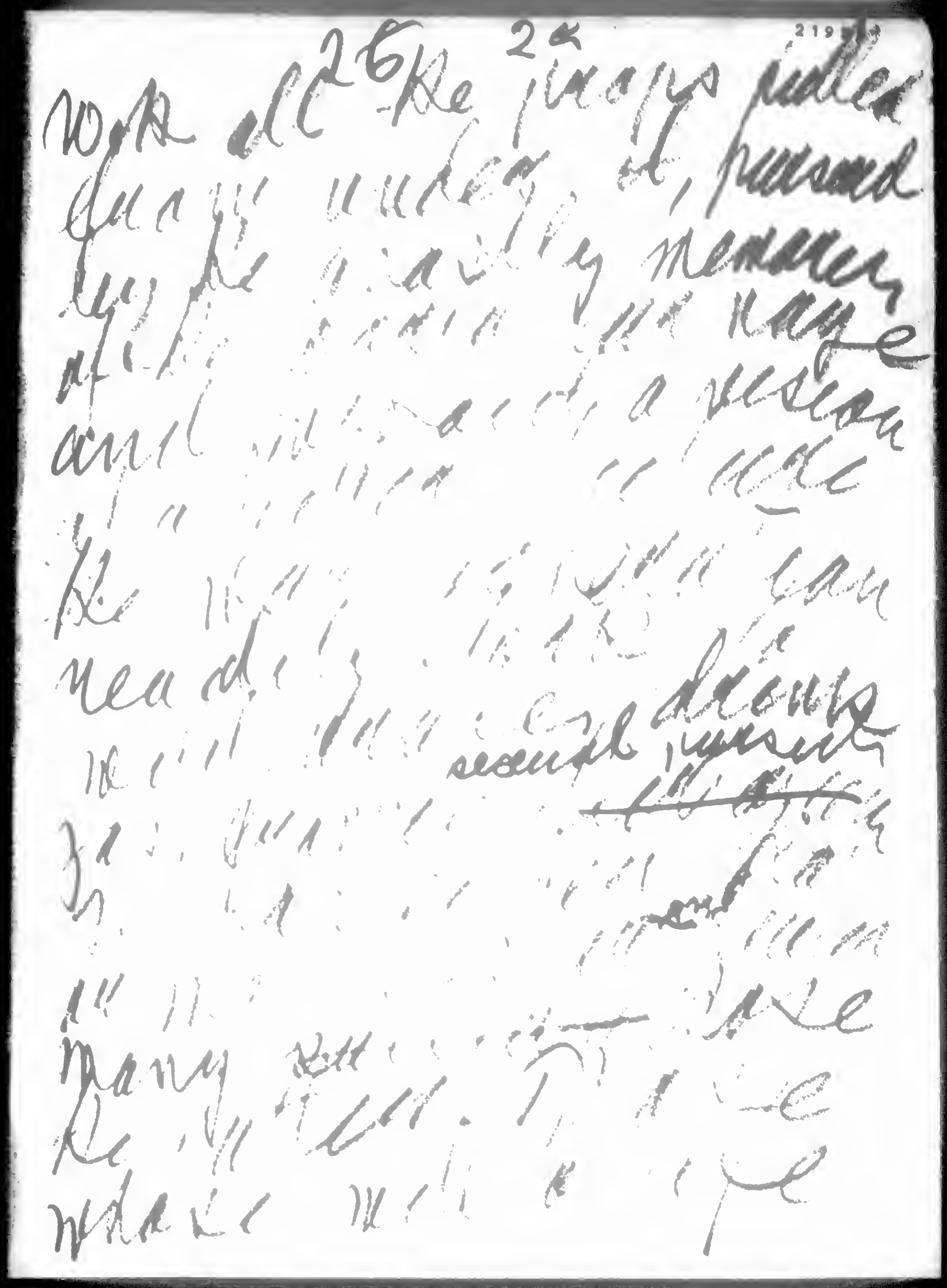

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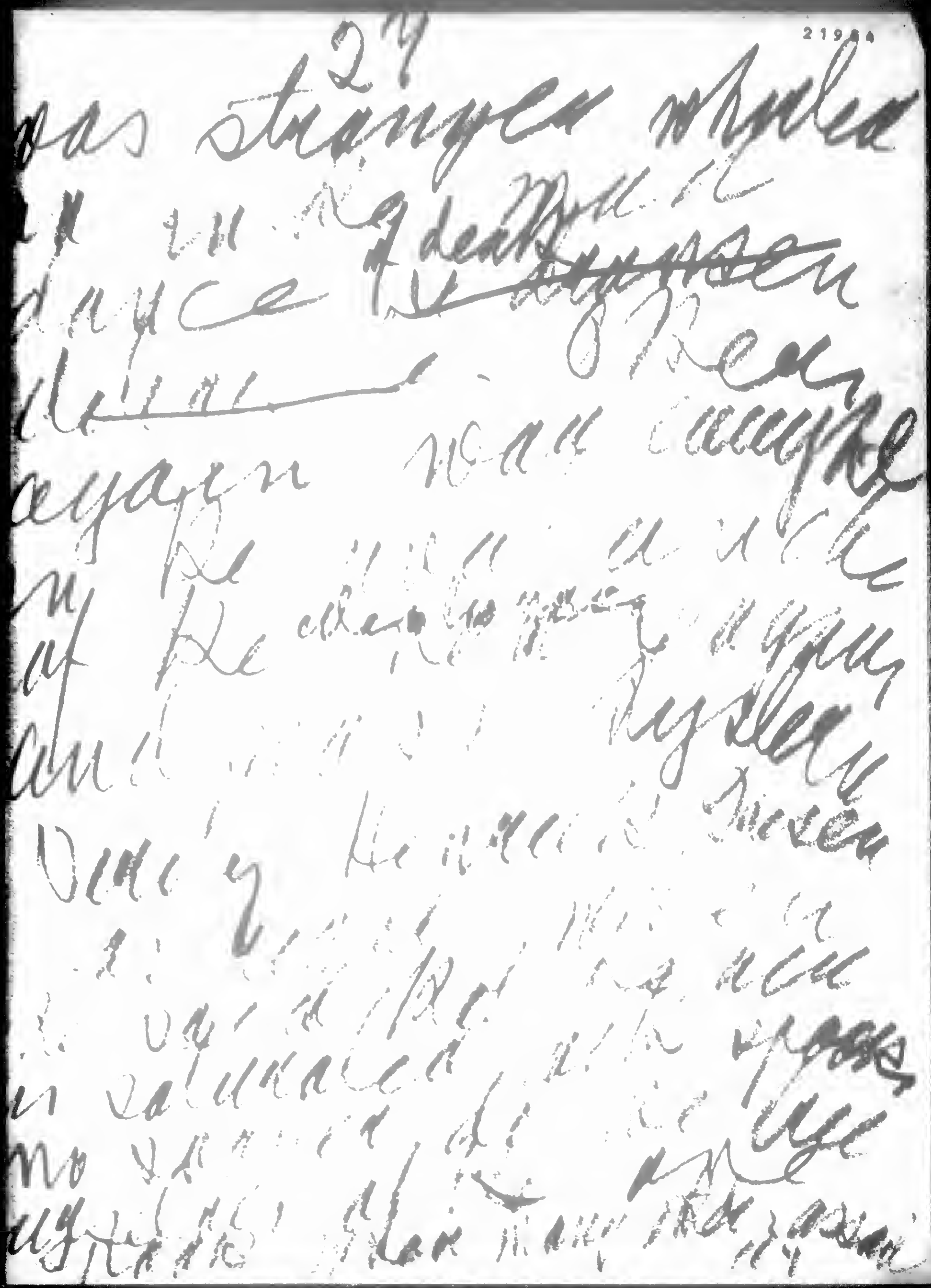

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THE OLD TABOOS IN DIFFERENT DISGUISE CONTINUE TO HAUNT THE WAKING AND SLEEPING HOURS OF THE CHILD AND YOUTH. IN POINT OF TRUTH THEY HAVE BECOME MORE NUMEROUS.

TO THE RELIGIOUS PHANTOMS, THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS, PARENTAL AUTHORITY, AND THE SACRED RIGHT OF A PRIVILEGED CLASS TO ROB THE TOILERS OF THEIR LABORS, OTHERS HAVE BEEN ADDED.

THEY ARE THE SUPREMACY OF THE COLLECTIVITY OVER THE INDIVIDUAL -- HIS COMPLETE SURRENDER TO THAT "COLD MONSTER" FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE HAD CALLED THE STATE.

ALL OF THESE COMPETE WITH ONE ANOTHER FOR THE POSSESSION OF THE YOUNG. LIKE THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ALL CRY "GIVE ME THE CHILD AND WE WILL BIND IT WITH OUR CREED FOR LIFE." STRANGELY ENOUGH THEIR METHODS ARE THE SAME NO MATTER HOW

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AND WHAT OTHER MOTIVATION THAN DUTY IS BACK OF THE BLACK NATIONALIST PLAGUE THAT IS SPREADING LIKE WILDFIRE OVER THE EARTH?

THOSE IN POWER KNOW HOW TO PLAY ON THE STRING OF DUTY. THEY KNOW HOW TO DRESS IT UP IN GLAD RAGS OF DAZZLING COLORS. THEY KNOW HOW TO QUICKEN ITS PULSE BY MARTIAL MUSIC, TO INTOXICATE IT BY SYMBOLS, SIGNS, FETISHES, SALUTES, PARADES, DEMONSTRATIONS.

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THE ARDOUR OF YOUTH MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE EXPLAINS THE POWER OF A MUSSOLINI, A HITLER AND ALL THE OTHER DICTATORS. FASCISM, NAZISM AND COMMUNISM ARE YOUTH MOVEMENTS. DON'T FORGET THAT.

(No one man, I don't care how great in mental or moral capacity, ever made a great movement in the world, nor have necessary moral or physical qualities. The second at Russian revolution at

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32, in search file of IWCR, ~~student bureau~~ ~~[illegible]~~. something that would give magazine and also can be reason

IN ITALY YOUTH FURNISHED THE VANGUARD OF FASCISM.

IN RUSSIA YOUTH IS THE BACKBONE OF THE BOLSHEVIK STATE.

IN CHINA BOTH THE KOMINYTON PARTY AND THE LEFT HAVE THE YOUTH OF THE LAND.

IN GERMANY YOUTH IS THE SPEARHEAD OF NAZISM.

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FOR IT IS NOTHING BUT BLIND FANATICISM TO CLAIM SINCERITY, EARNESTNESS AND COMPLETE CONSECRATION FOR THE COMMUNIST YOUTH ALONE.

FAR BE IT FROM ME TO DENY THAT THERE ARE SEEKERS, CLIMBERS AND ADVENTURERS AMONG THOSE WHO SWELL THE RANKS OF MUSSOLINI AND HITLER. ALAS, SUCH ARE BY NO MEANS EXTINCT IN THE COMMUNIST FOLDS, MORE SO IN MOST COUNTRIES OUTSIDE OF RUSSIA. BUT ONLY DEMAGOGUES WILL DENY SINCERITY TO THE BULK OF THE YOUTH WHO LIE PROSTRATE BEFORE THE ALTAR OF ~~THE~~ IDOLS OF ~~OUR TIME.~~

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IN ANGLO SAXON COUNTRIES YOUTH HAS ONLY BEGUN TO STRIDE OUT. INDEED, AS LATE AS 1919 THE YOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES IN RADICAL RANKS WAS VERY NEGLIGIBLE. TO BE SURE THE YOUTH OF FOREIGN BIRTH WAS ALWAYS SOCIALLY AND ECONOMICALLY AWARE. IT FURNISHED THE LARGEST CONTINGENT IN THE LABOR, SOCIALIST AND ANARCHIST MOVEMENTS. ESPECIALLY WAS THIS TRUE UNTIL IMMIGRATION HAD BEEN CHOKED OFF.

BUT THE AMERICAN MEN AND WOMEN OF PRE-WAR TIMES UNTIL THIRTY OR THIRTY-FIVE HAD NO OTHER INTEREST BUT SPORTS, STRIKE BREAKING AND DIME NOVELS.

NOR DID YOUTH IN GENERAL CARE FOR AUGHT ELSE, BUT INCESSANT AMUSEMENT, HIP WHISKEY

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-35- 34 44 21961

IT IS IN POINT OF FACT ONLY SINCE THE CRASH THAT AMERICAN AND ENGLISH YOUTH HAVE BEEN JOLTED OUT OF THEIR ADOLESCENCE INTO THE REALISATION OF HOW THE PAST HAS CHEATED THEM OF THEIR BIRTH RIGHT.

YOUTH HAS COME TO SEE THE EMPTINESS OF ALL THE VALUES THEIR ELDERS HAD STUFFED THEM WITH.

THE BENEVOLENCE OF GOD WHO COMPLACENTLY PERMITTED THE WORLD SLAUGHTER.

THE SANCTITY OF THE HOME SHATTERED BY SIX YEARS CRISIS. THE IMPORTANCE OF COLLEGE EDUCATION WITH NO JOBS TO BE FOUND.

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21962

THE WORSHIP OF ~~QUANTITY~~ WEALTH WITH MILLIONS

GOING HUNGRY. THE SUPERIORITY OF THE WHITE

COLLAR TO THE WORKER'S OVERALLS WITH EVERYBODY

IN TATTERS STANDING IN LINE FOR A PLATE OF

SOUP.

THE BEAUTY OF PATRIOTISM WITH CRIPPLED

EX-SERVICE MEN SCATTERED IN THEIR DEMONSTRATION

BY TEAR GAS BOMBS.

THE BLESSINGS OF CODE A7 WITH WORKERS IN

EVERY STRIKE CLUBBED, ARRESTED, SENTENCED TO

MANY YEARS PRISON OR KILLED.

YOUTH HAS COME TO SEE THAT IT HAD BEEN

MISLED BY ITS ELDERS -- BETRAYED BY ITS COUN-

TRIES, ROBBED OF ALL ETHICAL VALUES BY THE

SO-CALLED SPIRITUAL LEADERS IN PULPIT AND

CAPEDRA.

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What meanest of
[illegible] glad?
[illegible] actual
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] important
[illegible]
[illegible] not
[illegible] moment
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

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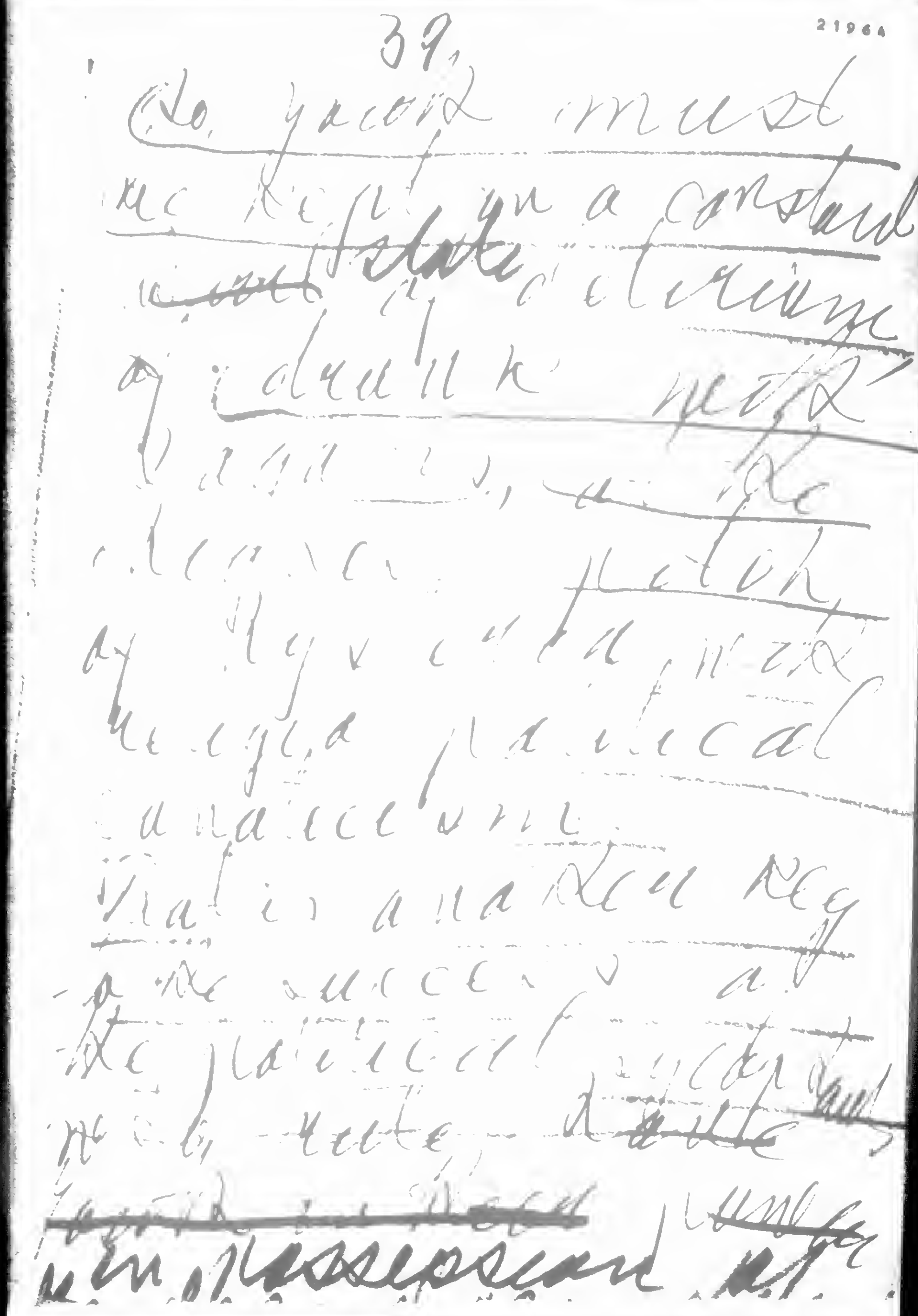

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1965

40

more here

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

the state as perceived

[illegible]

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THE PARTS PLAYED ON THE SOCIAL STAGE HAVE CHANGED.

TODAY IT IS THE OLD GENERATION, MY PRESENT GENERATION THAT HAS REMAINED TRUE TO ITS REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS AND REVOLUTIONARY ETHICS. MORE THAN EVER ARE WE FORCED TO SWIM AGAINST THE SOCIAL TIDE.

MODERN YOUTH SWIMS WITH THE MUDDY TIDE OF MERE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL IF THE YOUTH OF TODAY DECRIES US AS SENTIMENTAL BOURGEOIS AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONISTS? TO THEM A REVOLUTION IS A SORT OF PICNIC WITH FIRE WORKS NOT A SLOW PREPARATION AND INNER GROWTH AND STRENGTH FOR THE CREATION OF A NEW SOCIAL ORDER IN THE BUILDING OF WHICH NOT A PARTY, THE STATE

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OR A DICTATOR BUT EVERY [redacted].

IF THE SCORN OF THE LATTER DAY YOUTH IS PAINFUL WE MUST NOT FAIL TO REMEMBER THAT WE IN OUR YOUTH WERE ALSO IMPATIENT OF OUR TEACHERS. IT IS, THEREFORE, UP TO US TO PRACTISE THE UTMOST PATIENCE WITH THE YOUTH OF TODAY. TO UNDERSTAND ITS NEEDS AND TO HELP ITS STRUGGLE.

LIFE IS AN ETERNAL PROCESS OF NEW BIRTH, ETERNAL ALSO ARE THE CHANGES.

HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED HUNDRED OR FIFTY YEARS ARE AS A GRAIN OF SAND IN EVOLUTIONARY PREPARATION FOR THE ADVENT OF THE REVOLUTION.

EVERY GENERATION IN ITS TIME ABLE TO FACE

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THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS CONFRONTING IT, INTENSELY FEELING SOCIAL INJUSTICE AND BRAVE ENOUGH TO STRUGGLE AGAINST THEM CONTRIBUTES ITS SHARE TO GREAT FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL CHANGES.

I ADMIT FRANKLY THAT I SEE IN THE IDEOLOGY OF OUR YOUTH A [redacted] ETAPE IN THE LONG DIFFICULT BATTLE FOR HUMAN LIBERATION.

I AM CONVINCED THAT DICTATORSHIP OF WHATEVER FORM [redacted] is passing ON. TRUE, YOUTH OF TODAY IS SO FAR BLIND TO THIS. IT DOES NOT REALIZE THAT IT IS HELPING TO FORGE NEW CHAINS FOR THE MASSES. AND YET THE MODERN IDEOLOGY OF YOUTH IS BUT AN ETAPE. [redacted] and will not [illegible].

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NOT AS LONG AS A SINGLE DARING SPIRIT

REMAINS OR AN UNFLINCHING MIND WILL MANKIND

CEASE IN ITS SEARCH FOR COMPLETE FREEDOM OR

LACK COURAGE TO BREAK ITS FETTERS OR ITS

VISION OF A NEW SOCIAL ORDER WHERE THE PUPPETS

NOW SO ATTRACTIVE TO YOUTH WILL HAVE THEIR

PLACE IN MUSEUMS AND NOT IN ACTUAL LIFE.

SO I DO NOT DESPAIR THE REVOLT OF YOUTH

EVEN IF IT IS A REVOLT THAT IS BEING USED

BY DEMAGOGUES FOR THEIR OWN ENDS.

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21970

only guarantee of a free and sane society - and the only aim worth working for.

(I am as convinced of this as I am of the idea of "Men not meth, the regeneration of the penitent, calls and that, as a means to the end it is this certainty that gives courage to me,

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22009

YOU PROBABLY REMEMBER HEGELOW IBSEN SAYING

IN "GHOSTS" "NO SOONER DO WE FREE OURSELVES

spirit

FROM ONE GHOST WHEN EVER SO MANY OTHERS SWOOP

DOWN ON US. FOR THE VERY AIR IS SATURATED

WITH SPOOKS. THIS ALSO EXPLAINS THE SNAIL-

LIKE MOVEMENT OF PROGRESS.

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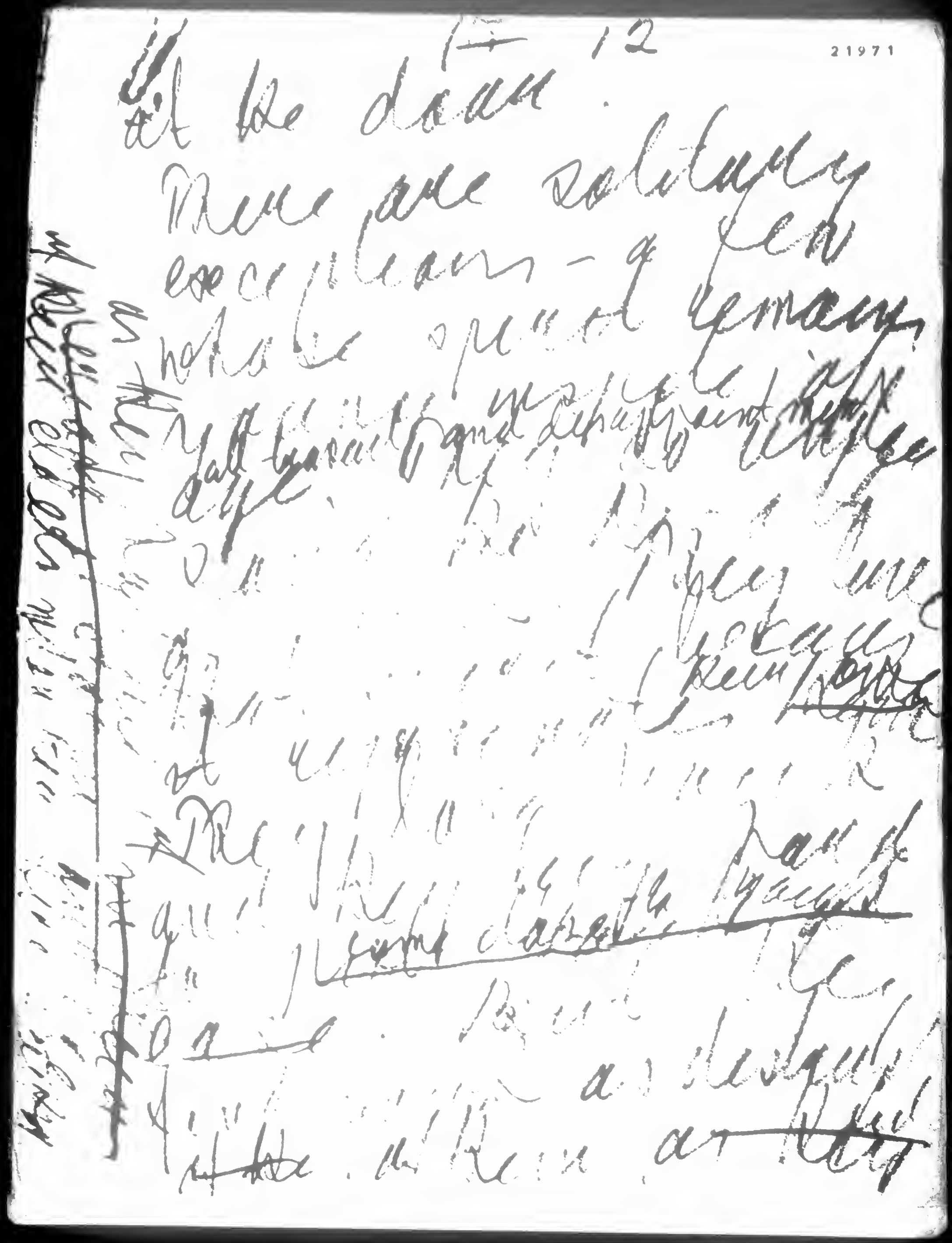

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13

WE HAD NO SUCH ~~EASY-RIDE~~ AS THOSE WHO MOVE IN FLOCKS. WE ~~HAD BEEN~~ FEW HENCE HAD TO STAND VERY FIRMLY IN OUR OWN SHOES TO BE ABLE TO HOLD OUT AGAINST THE AVALANCHE OF IGNORANCE, SUPERSTITION AND AUTHORITY THAT TRIED TO CURB OUR REBELLIOUS ~~SPIRIT~~.

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OUR MEETINGS IN OUT OF THE WAY HALLS WERE ADVENTURES. OUR STRUGGLE FRAUGHT WITH MUCH DANGER AND LITTLE GLORY.

OUR HOPES NOT THE TOTALITARIAN STATE OR THE MACHINERY OF DICTATORSHIP, NOT THE EXPECTATION OF BECOMING SS OR SA MEN AND WOMEN, OR KOMSOMOLEY AND LITTLE AS WELL AS BIG COMMISSARS.

OUR AIMS WERE TO PREPARE EACH AND EVERYONE FOR THE GREAT HERITAGE OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND SOCIAL SOLIDARITY. OUR PERSONAL AMBITIONS AS FAR AS WE HAD ANY WERE SUBMERGED IN OUR AMBITIONS FOR HUMANITY.

WITH TRUTH I CAN SAY THAT OURS WAS A VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS. WITH HIS BLOOD AND ITS LIFE OUR YOUTH HAD WATERED THE SOIL OF LIBERTY AND HAD BLAZENED THE PATH FOR THE YOUTH OF TODAY.

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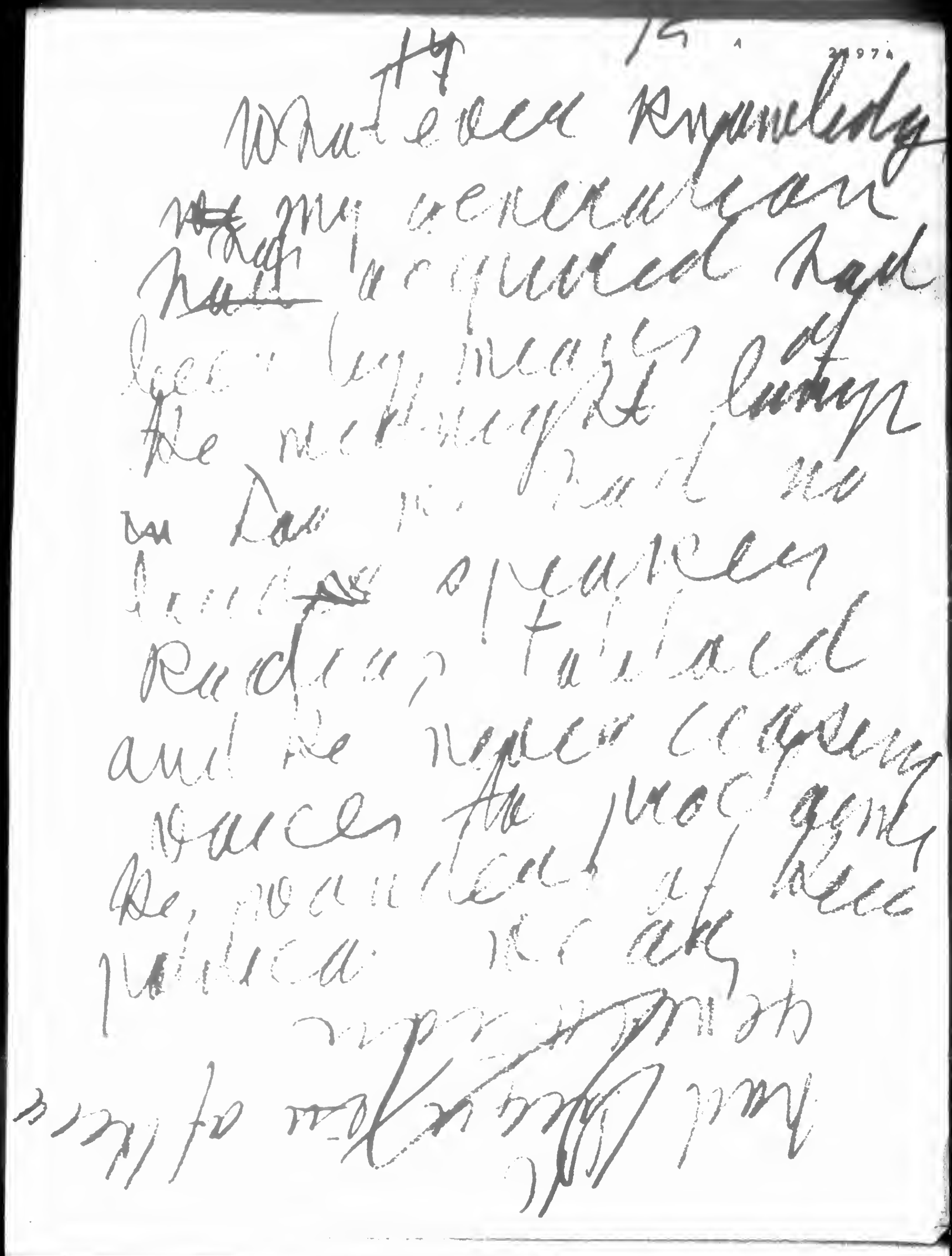

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Fortunately so
Because it left our
minds free from
the [illegible] ~~[illegible]~~
influence of mass
psychology. It came
nearer [illegible] to
[illegible]
to [illegible] and deep
~~than life~~ from the
social struggle

We did not take our
selves too seriously
as the youth of to day
That was because we
were blessed with a sense
of humor

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21976

14

We renew raw to
[illegible] of [illegible]
[illegible] lies
also to request
some of my [illegible]
to relate [illegible]
[illegible] spent
9 [illegible] that
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
of [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] come and
[illegible] [illegible]
and [illegible] [illegible] a
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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21977

The idea of individual [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

in integrity [illegible] more leveling

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

and out of date

[illegible] nk, jeered at

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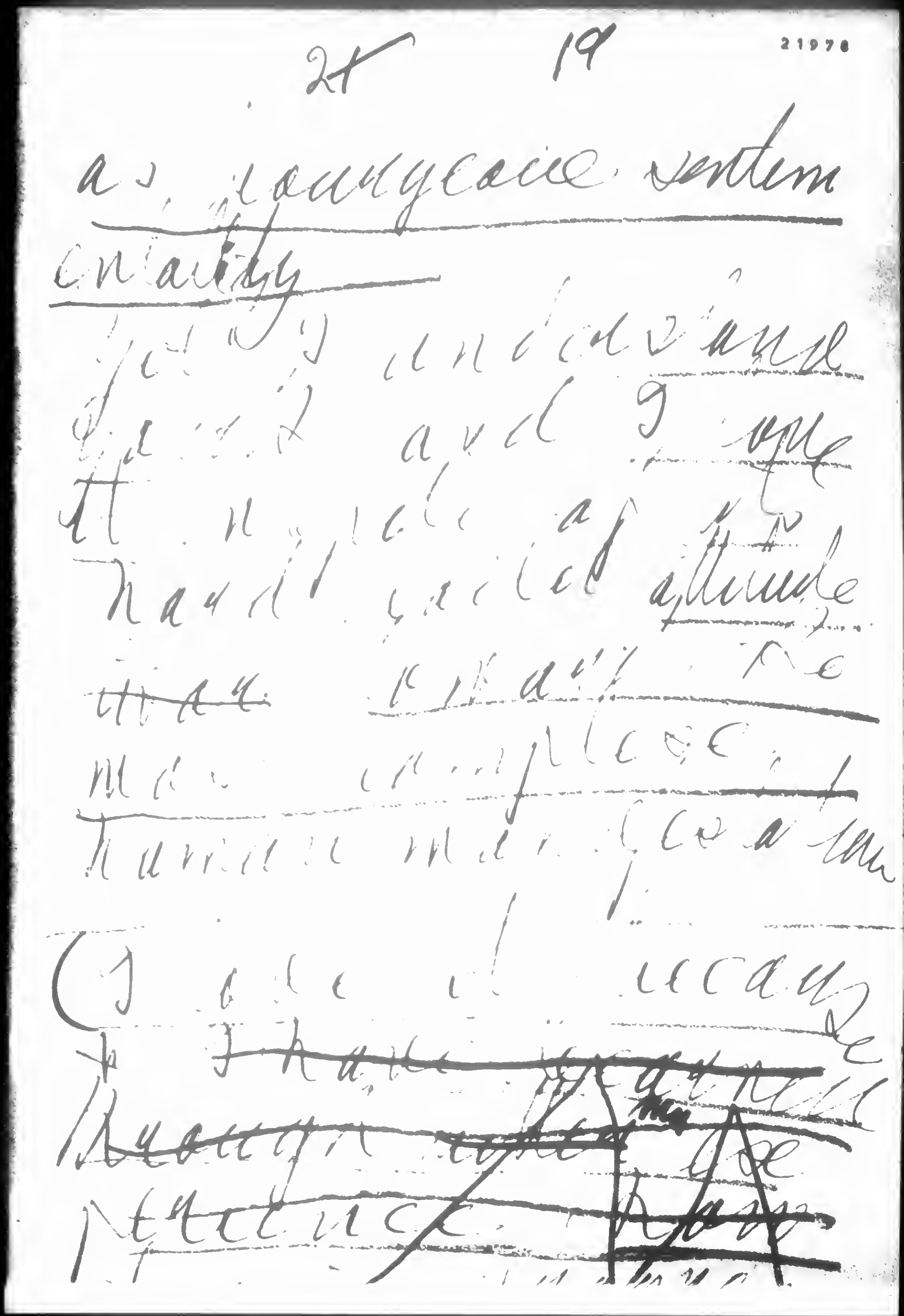

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I know 21 21 1909

fully the power
youth, the
[illegible] and
[illegible] the
[illegible]
no [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

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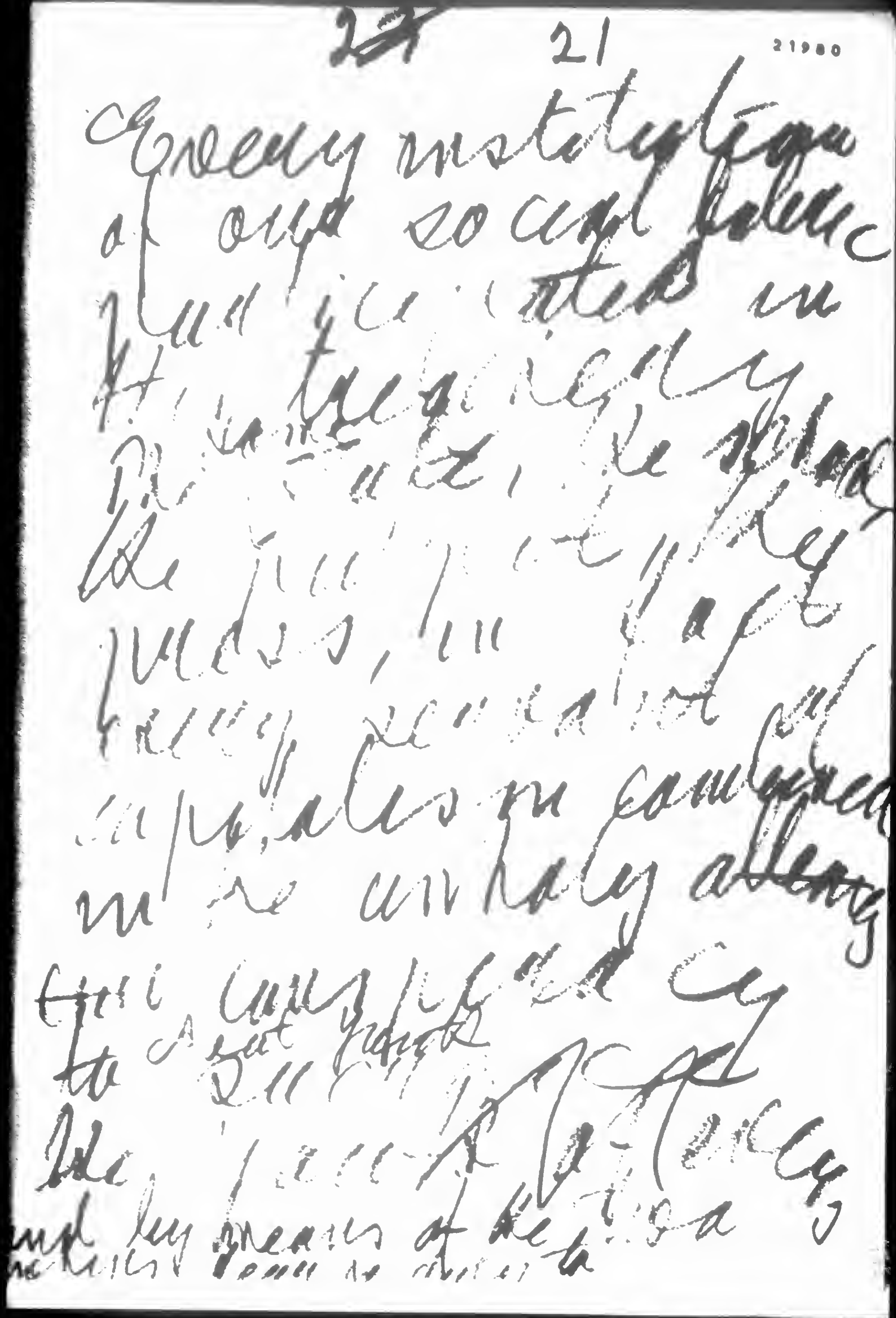

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Youth in Revolt / Emma Goldman. – 46 p. ; 30 × 23 cm.

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to deceived youth
and by means of fear
as duty, the truth
superstitious shape
the young generation
seen the light

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[Organizing the Peasantry Is the Most Important and Most Difficult Task of Anarchist Revolutionary Syndicalism] / Emma Goldman. –8 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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5) HISTORICALLY PROVEN THAT GREAT CHANGES NEVER

BROUGHT ABOUT BY ONE LAYER IN SOCIETY. RUSSIA

21763

A LIVING PROOF THAT THE PROLETARIAT ALONE COULD NOT

AND DID NOT BRING ABOUT THE OCTOBER REVOLUTIONARY.

NUMERICALLY TOO SMALL, HENCE NEEDED THE PEASANTRY,

THE ARMY AND THE INTELLIGENTSIA.

6) PEASANTRY FORCED LENIN'S HAND. ALL THE INHUMAN

TERROR OF STALIN TO COERCE THE PEASANTS INTO THE

COLLECTIVES ENDED SO FAR IN EXILE TO CONVICT

LABOR CAMPS AND THE SLOW DEATH OF MILLIONS OF

PEASANTS.

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Peasants social revolutionary party

LAND QUESTION:

21764

1. WITH A VIEW OF BRINGING ABOUT A VICTORIOUS SOCIAL REVOLUTION, THE ORGANIZING, PREPARING AND PARTICIPATING OF THE AGRICULTURAL AND LAND WORKERS AND LABORERS IS ~~URGENTLY~~ desperately NEEDED ON THE LINES OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES AND TACTICS LAID DOWN BY THE I.W.W.A.

2. THIS TASK IS THE MORE NECESSARY AS THE REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALIST MOVEMENT, -- IN DIRECT OPPOSITION TO ALL POLITICAL PARTIES AND LABOR BODIES WITH SOCIALIST OR BOLSHEVIST LEANINGS WHICH ARE REPRESENTED EITHER BY THE 2nd AND 3rd INTERNATIONALS, OR BY THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR FEDERATION (AMSTERDAM) OR THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL (MOSCOW), -- REFUSES TO ALLOW ANY FRACTION OF THE PROLETARIAT TO MONOPOLIZE STATE POWER WITH A VIEW OF CARRYING OUT THE FUNCTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC OR DICTATORIAL GOVERNMENTS.

3. IT IS NECESSARY, WHEN CARRYING OUT THE METHOD OF ORGANIZATION OF THE LAND WORKERS, TO TAKE INTO SERIOUS

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CONSIDERATION THE COMPLEXITY AND VARIETY OF THE PEASANT POPULATION, AND THAT BESIDES THE WAGE SLAVES ON THE LAND, THERE ARE OTHER SECTIONS OF THAT POPULATION (SMALL FARMERS AND SMALLHOLDERS) WHOSE PRODUCT OF LABOR IS SPOLIATED BY THE ~~FISCAL~~ RAPACITY OF THE STATE AND OF THE FINANCIAL, COMMERCIAL AND SPECULATIVE CAPITAL.

In it is necessary to

4. AS A CONSEQUENCE OF ~~THE ABOVE, THE I.W.W.'S SECTIONS~~ MUST DEVOTE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO PEASANT PROPAGANDA, CALL OUT INTO BEING AND DEVELOP AGRICULTURAL LABORERS' UNIONS WHICH WILL BRING TOGETHER ALL THE LAND WAGE-WORKERS, AS WELL AS THE SMALLHOLDERS AND SMALL FARMERS, THE LATTER BEING ORGANIZED IN THEIR RESPECTIVE SECTIONS, BUT BEING AT THE SAME TIME LINKED UP TO THE OTHER WORKERS BY A COMMON BOND OF INTERESTS AND SOLIDARITY AGAINST THE EXPLOITING FRONT MADE UP OF BIG LANDOWNERS, STATE AND CAPITALISM. THESE UNIONS ~~WILL~~ SHOULD BE FEDERATED, NATIONALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY, FOR THE SAKE OF SOLIDARITY AS WELL AS TACTICAL, TECHNICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL EXCHANGES.

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5. THE PROGRAM OF THESE REVOLUTIONARY LAND UNIONS WILL BASE ITSELF UPON IMMEDIATE DEMANDS BEING PUT FORTH, CAPABLE OF IMPROVING THE MORAL AND MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF THEIR MEMBERS BY MEANS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE, BUT WITH THE ULTIMATE AIM OF ~~SUPPRESSING~~ abolishing, BY A REVOLUTIONARY UPHEAVAL, THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM, AND BY ESTABLISHING IN ITS PLACE A STATE OF SOCIETY WHICH WOULD RENDER IMPOSSIBLE THE EXPLOITATION AND DOMINATION OF MAN BY MAN.

6. THESE IMMEDIATE DEMANDS ~~WILL~~ Would BE SET FORTH IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LOCAL, REGIONAL OR NATIONAL CONDITIONS. THEY MUST ALWAYS AIM AT A SYSTEMATIC WEAKENING OF THE POSITIONS OF CAPITALISM, STATE AND LANDOWNERSHIP. WITH A VIEW OF THE GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF THIS STRUGGLE AND OF ASSURING ITS EFFICACY, THE CONVENTION RECOMMENDS THE FOLLOWING MEASURES:

a) THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF LAND WORKERS BY AN INCREASE OF WAGES AND BY A REDUCTION OF THE HOURS OF LABOR; THE LATTER MUST UNDER NO CONSIDERATION, EXCEED THE MINIMAL NUMBER OF WORKING HOURS PER

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DAY AMONG INDUSTRIAL WORKERS;

b) THE ABOLITION OF LAND TAXATION AND OF MORTGAGED DEBTS FOR PROPERTIES UNDER TEN ACRES CULTIVATED BY THEIR OWNERS AS THEIR SOLE MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD;

c) SUPPRESSION OF GROUND-RENTS, IN CASH OR IN KIND, WHICH THE SMALL FARMERS ARE BEING COMPELLED TO PAY AS FARMING RIGHTS TO THE BIG LANDOWNERS;

d) EXPROPRIATION, WITHOUT ANY COMPENSATION, OF THE LARGE ESTATES (LATIFUNDIA) AND OF THE HUNTING LANDS, AND SHARING OF THESE AMONG THE AGRICULTURAL UNIONS, THE LANDLESS PEASANTS AND THE UNEMPLOYED LABORERS WHO AGREE TO TILL AND CULTIVATE THESE LANDS UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE UNIONS.

8 INSOFAR AS IT CONCERNS THE REVOLUTIONARY PREPAREDNESS OF THE PEASANT MASSES, IT IS NECESSARY TO AWAKEN AND TO MAINTAIN ~~ALIVE THE~~ SPIRIT OF REVOLT AMONG THE EXPLOITED ELEMENTS OF THE RURAL POPULATION BY PROVING TO THEM, BY CLEAR AND PRECISE ARGUMENTS AND FACTS, THAT THE MAIN AND SOLE CAUSE OF THEIR MISERY AND OF THEIR

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EXPLOITATION LIES WITHIN THE CAPITALIST AND STATE SYSTEM OF TO-DAY; THAT LAND TAXATION, USURY AND SPOLIATION CARRIED OUT BY THE COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL KINGS, CANNOT DISAPPEAR OTHERWISE THAN BY THE ABOLITION OF CAPITALISM AND OF ITS PILLAR, THE STATE; THAT THE SO-CALLED LAND REFORMS, BY MEANS OF WHICH THE STATE INGENIOUSLY ATTEMPTS TO DEMORALIZE THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF THE MASSES BY DIVIDING, AMONG AN INSIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF POOR PEASANTS, SMALL PLOTS OF LAND, ARE NOTHING ELSE THAN DEMAGOGIC TRICKS INCAPABLE OF BRINGING A REMEDY TO THE POVERTY AND DISTRESS OF WHICH MILLIONS OF SMALL FARMERS, SMALLHOLDERS AND AGRICULTURAL LABORERS SUFFER ALL THE WORLD OVER. THIS IS SUFFICIENTLY PROVED BY THE RESULTS OF LAND REFORMS CARRIED OUT, AFTER THE WAR, IN 14 EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. AND FINALLY, THAT THE THOROUGH EMANCIPATION OF EXPLOITED PEASANTS REQUIRES THEIR SELF-ORGANIZATION INTO ~~POWERFUL~~ strong REVOLUTIONARY UNIONS, SO AS TO CARRY OUT EFFICIENTLY A UNITED STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL THEIR EXPLOITERS AND OPPRESSORS.

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9. THE CONSTRUCTIVE READINESS OF THE PEASANTS FOR SOCIALISM IS THE MOST IMPORTANT AND MOST DIFFICULT TASK OF REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM ON THE LAND. THE MOST IMPORTANT, -- BECAUSE, WITHOUT IT, THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO LIVE AND WOULD NOT HAVE A SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT; THE MOST DIFFICULT, -- BECAUSE TRADITIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL OBSTACLES, CULTURAL BACKWARDNESS, INSTINCT OF PROPERTY, AND SELF-CENTERED INDIVIDUALISM COULD ONLY BE DONE AWAY WITH BY THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PEASANT MASSES FOR A SOCIALIST PURPOSE. THE REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALIST PEASANT MOVEMENT CAN, AND MUST, OVERCOME THESE OBSTACLES BY A WIDE AND INCESSANT PROPAGANDA OF ITS FINAL AIMS, BY A WORK OF EDUCATION WHICH WILL HAVE TO DEVELOP, AMONG THE PEASANTS, HABITS OF COLLECTIVE SOLIDARITY, AND WILL PREDISPOSE THEM TO COLLABORATE UNRESERVEDLY AND IN THEIR OWN INTERESTS FOR THE BUILDING-UP OF A TRUE SOCIALIST STATE OF SOCIETY.

continue page 3

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10. THE CONVENTION PROCLAIMS THAT THE SOCIALIZATION OF THE LAND, OF THE AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND OF ITS HUSBANDRY, OF ITS EXPLOITATION AND ADMINISTRATION BY THE AGRICULTURAL UNIONS OF LAND WORKERS IS THE FOREMOST CONDITION FOR THE SETTING UP OF A SOCIALIST ECONOMY WHICH WOULD GUARANTEE TO THE WORKING MASSES THE ENTIRE PRODUCT OF THEIR WORK. THIS FUNDAMENTAL IDEA IS BASED UPON THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS:

a) THE DIVIDING UP THE LAND AMONG THE PEASANTS WITH ITS INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCES -- MAINTENANCE OF PRIVATE ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL FORMS -- PRACTICALLY EXCLUDES SOCIALISM AND UNAVOIDABLE LEADS TO INDIVIDUAL ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH AND TO THE RESTORATION OF CAPITALISM.

b) THE EXCHANGE OF PRODUCE BETWEEN INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL DISTRICTS MUST BE REGULATED, IN THE PROCESS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF A REVOLUTIONARY COUNTRY, IN A SYSTEMATIC MANNER, AND MUST BE ORGANIZED INDEPENDENTLY OF THE RISKS AND INSTABILITY WHICH NECESSARILY ARISE OUT OF INDIVIDUAL PRODUCTION AND WHICH MIGHT, EVENTUALLY, BECOME DANGEROUS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE REVOLUTION.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Lesson of the [Bolshevik] Revolution] / Emma Goldman. – 9 p. ; 30 × 20 cm.

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LESSON THEN OF THE REVOLUTION FOR THE WORKERS IS THAT THE THINGS THEY PRODUCE WHILE AT PRESENT BELONG TO THE MASTER CLASS, ARE NONE THE LESS, BLOOD OF THEIR BLOOD AND SWEAT OF THEIR SWEAT AND THAT SOME DAY THEY WILL ESTABLISH THE RIGHT TO THEM, HENCE MUST LEARN TO FEEL ABOUT THEM AS ~~KEENLY AND INTERESTEDLY AS THE MAN WHO NOW OWNS THEM~~. AND NOT ONLY MUST THEY FEEL CLOSE TO THE THINGS THEY ARE NOW PRODUCING, BUT THEY MUST LEARN WHAT TO DO WITH THEM, HOW TO CONTINUE IN THE WORKS, HOW TO MAKE AND MANAGE THE INDUSTRIES, WHAT AND HOW MUCH TO PRODUCE, IN SHORT THEY MUST BEGIN NOW TO LEARN NATURE AND CHARACTER OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.

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THE SAFETY OF THE REVOLUTION LIES IN WHETHER OR NO THE WORKERS CAN PROCEED TO BUILD OUT OF THE OLD REGIME ONCE OVERTHROWN A NEW MODE OF LIFE, WHETHER

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THEY CAN CONTINUE PRODUCTION WHERE THEY HAVE LEFT OFF THE DAY BEFORE THE REVOLUTION. THERE IS NOTHING SO POWERFUL, NOT EVEN THE RED ARMY AND THE CHEKA AS THE ABILITY TO FEED, CLOTHE AND HOUSE THE MASSES WHO HAVE THROWN OFF THE YOKE OF AGES AND HAVE BECOME FREE TO ~~ENJOY LIFE AND TO HELP~~ RECONSTRUCT ~~IT.~~ & employ equal up

EVERYBODY MUST EAT, DRINK, BE CLOTHED AND HAVE A ROOF OVER HIS HEAD, EVEN THE FORMER BOURGEOISIE. THE WAY TO ENLIST THEIR INTEREST IN THE REVOLUTION AFTER THEY HAVE BEEN DIVESTED OF THEIR POWER IS NOT TO STARVE THEM TO ~~DEATH~~ all, OR THROW THEM INTO THE HOVELS FORMERLY LIVED IN BY THE WORKERS, BUT TO DRAW THEM INTO THE VAST PROCESS OF REBUILDING, TO GIVE THEM A SHARE IN THE THINGS THEY ~~WILL~~ PRODUCE. of their own industry experience

EXAMPLE, THE FACTORIES VISITED AND FOUND IN PERFECT CONDITION. RUBBER WORKS, LEFEVRE TOBACCO FACTORY, CHEMICAL WORKS IN PETROGRAD. NOT SABOTAGED

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BECAUSE THE FORMER OWNERS WERE LEFT IN CHARGE. IT WAS IN THEIR INTEREST TO PROTECT THE WORKS TO KEEP THEM IN SHAPE.

THE SAME ~~HOLDS~~ GOOD WITH ALL THE ART TREASURES, MUSEUMS, GALLERIES, ETC. THEY HAVE REMAINED INTACT NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF THE INTEREST OF LUNACHARSKY, BUT BECAUSE THOSE WHO HAD WORKED IN THEM FOR YEARS AND LOVED THEIR WORK AND KNEW ITS VALUE ~~WERE LEFT IN CHARGE~~ had been permitted to experience their safety. It was left to Stalin to tear these people out of their moorings. The example thus is decisive.

NOT DENYING THAT THE FORMER OWNERS MAY HAVE HAD OTHER MOTIVES IN KEEPING THEIR FORMER POSSESSIONS IN the best of ORDER, THEY MAY HAVE BELIEVED AS SOME REALLY DID, THAT THE BOLSHEVIKI WILL NOT LAST LONG, THAT THEY WILL GET BACK THEIR RIGHT OF POSSESSIONS, ~~SOME OF THEM HAVE~~ ALREADY ~~BEEN GIVEN BACK THAT RIGHT~~. BUT THE FACT REMAINS THAT THESE PEOPLE WERE INTERESTED MUCH MORE IN PROTECTION THAN IN DESTRUCTION, THAT THEY KNEW THE VALUE OF THE MACHINES AND HOUSES AND THE WORKS OF ART, THEY ~~REPRESENTED THEIR EFFORTS~~ HENCE THEY TOOK CARE OF THEM.

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ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM THE CLEARING HOUSE FOR PLANNED PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION ON FEDERATIVE AND COOPERATIVE LINES.

THIS WILL DO AWAY WITH THE TERRIFIC COST OF BUREAUCRACY AND WILL SET SOCIAL ENERGIES FREE FOR PRODUCTION FROM EACH ACCORDING HIS ABILITIES AND DISTRIBUTION TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS NEEDS.

PROGRAM OF ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM.

THE INITIATIVE MUST BE TRANSFERRED TO THE PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, TEACHING TO THE TEACHERS, PARENTS AND CHILDREN. SANITATION TO MEDICAL MEN AND NURSES. THE VARIOUS INDUSTRIES TO THE WORKERS AND TECHNICIANS OF THE PLANTS, FACTORIES AND MILLS. THE POLICIES TO BE DECIDED IN EACH INSTANCE AND ACCORDING WITH THE CIRCUMSTANCES. THE DIRECTING COMMITTEES TO BE IN CONSTANT FLUX AND NOT STATIONARY.

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EXAMPLE WAS SALT TOLD BY LENIN, BUTTER AND CHEESE

ALLOWED TO ROT, LEATHER HIDDEN AWAY BY SOME OF THE HIGHER OFFICIALS IN THE CHEKA, CAR LOADS OF PROVISIONS SENT TO PETROGRAD FROM THE SOUTH LOST ON THE WAY. RUSSIA ALWAYS GRAFT RIDDEN COUNTRY, DEPENDABLE ELEMENTS WORKING 20 HOURS OUT OF 24. ALL GRANTED. BUT THE MAIN REASONS ARE THE IGNORANCE AND THE INEFFICIENCY OF THE MASSES WHO WERE NEVER TAUGHT CONSTRUCTIVE WORK, WHO WERE NEVER MADE TO REALIZE THAT THEY HAVE A SHARE IN THE WEALTH OF THE COUNTRY, HENCE MUST LEARN TO SAFEGUARD THAT WEALTH TO TAKE CHARGE OF IT, DIRECT AND MANAGE IT FOR THE EQUAL GOOD OF ALL ON THE DAY AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

IF REVOLUTION MEANS ANYTHING IT MEANS THE CREATION OF A NEW TYPE OF HUMANITY, A NEW CONCEPTION OF THE SANCTITY AND BEAUTY OF LIFE, THE RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS AND FREEDOM OF THE UNITY IN A LIBERATED SOCIAL AGGREGATE. ELSE WHY REVOLUTION, IF WE ARE MERELY TO IMITATE THE WAYS OF THE OLD ORDER?

collectively

repeat

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FUTURE REVOLUTION TO BE SUCCESSFUL WILL WORK ALONG

THESE LINES

just as we have come to understand that prenatal conditions effect the well being of mother and child. So too we must learn that the much claimed transition period will depend on the prenatal care given to the constructive revolutionary processes of the masses.

The Ignorian idea, that in Russia has been artificially, created as an excuse, for the blunders of the dictators, is a fallacy. The pains of Revolution can of course not

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entirely demonstrated
that they can be minimized
even and lightened
even as many pains
in child birth have
been decreased
in point of fact
~~in many cases~~
as the vane theory
degeneracy and predisposition
of mothers and fathers
that have done away
much of the sight
of child birth
Revolution is not
the collective child
Its parents are
the masses - their
rape preparation
will determine mood of

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4

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The success of Lenin
and the disgusting
dancing the tarantella
of your influency
to Lenin.
To achieve this
all our energies
must be spent
on the constructive
side of Revolution

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[The Soviet Government and the Autonomy of Minorities] / Emma Goldman. – (fragment). – 1 p. ; 27 × 19 cm.

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1975

Even the policy to satisfy the cultural autonomy of all the minority units, which has unduly led to the suppression and defence of rights, regime of the worldly generally is misleading

The policy of the Soviet Government has been to satisfy the demands for cultural autonomy of all the minority units which have unduly led to the suppression and defence of rights, regime of the worldly generally is misleading

Bitter experience has taught the oppressed minorities that they have been given an ounce of real political freedom or power. Within the frame-work of a highly centralised dictatorship the so-called independent economic Republics forming the Soviet Union enjoy unlimited freedom in education and the arts but no economic or political sovereignty. In effect, Moscow has said to them: "You may have your own national schools, but no statehood".

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The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti / Emma Goldman. – [1930?]. – 3 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The case of Sacco and Vanzetti has become as world famous as the Dreyfuss case in 1897. Any Officer of the French Army Dreyfuss became the victim of a corrupt Miliraty Clique and of the prevallant Anit-Semitic feeling fostered in France at the time. The wide-spread practice of graft among high Military officials and their betrayal of French military secrets in return for large sums of money had to be covered up by the un scrupulous railroading of Capt Dreyfus, the Jew, to a living death on Devils Island.

Fortunately for Dreyfuss and for France there was the great writer and humanist Emile Zola. His flaming "J'uce, I indict" awakened the whole world and stirred human conscience to a thunderous protest in behalf of Dreyffus, with the result that the military conspiracy was unearthed the man proven inoocent and rescued from his living grave.

But while the conspiracy against Sacco and Vanzetti is much like like the Dreyfuss case it is yet of far greater im portance, of wider scope and it strikes much deeper into our social fabirc. Dreyfuss was the vicitm of one particular clique, Sacco and Vazetti are the victims of a whole class, the class which ~~xxx~~ anssaed vast fortunes at the expence of the disinhereted and oppressed to whom Sacco and Vazeti belong. Their case symbolizes the life and deathe struggle of two worlds, one clinging teneciously ~~tmxthexoldxorderx~~

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built on vested interests, on wealth and power, the other aiming at new forms of social life which should give every man woman and child ~~i~~real rights and opportunities to the things which they produce. Added to this is the anti-alien hatered which was always considerable in the United State, and which since the war has grown into a veritable ~~poison.~~ obsession

The bitter irony of the American hatred of all foreigners is that most Americans are themselves of foreign stock who left the old world either for freedoms sake, or for loot. After all the real American was the Indian who was robbed of his land and who is being exterminated. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~. Human memory is indeed fleeting. Thus the offspring of the early American immigrants who erected their stronghold on the sculs of the Indians now do not care to remember their origine any more than they care to remember the fact that there was once a revolution in America because some brave spirits loved liberty so well that they could fight and die for it.

Satiated and arrogant by their acqisitions and power the present rulers in the U.S. are now in conspriacy against Sacco and Vanzetti-two simple workingmen whose love of liberty and humanity and whose ~~xxxxxxxx~~ heroic spirit ~~xxx~~ threaten the iddustrial kings of the 20th century much more than the Patrick Henrys and the Jeffersons threatened the English crown. Hence it has been decreed that Sacco and Vanzetti must die.

The case of these two heroic figure in the Charlestown jail has become the flame which has illumined the social and political conditions in ~~the U.S.~~ a. as nothing else in recent years. That you

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maybe able to judge for yourself I am going to bring before you the data of the whole shameful judicial farce, data and facts in the case prepared by distinguihs and unimpeachable men in America, Prof, Felix Frankfurter of Harward, Mr Dos Pasos the famous writer and many reputable newspapers whose sense of jstice and fairness has not been entirely dulled

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The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti. "At About Three O'Clock in the Afternoon..." / Emma Goldman. – [1930?, fragment]. – 4 p. ; 31 × 24 cm.
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22715

Emma Goldman

THE CASE OF SACCO AND VANZETTI

ter 1. ~~At about three o'clock in~~ On the afternoon of April 15, 1920, Parmenter, a paymaster, and Berardelli, his guard, were ~~fired upon and~~ killed by two men armed with pistols, as they were carrying two boxes containing the pay roll of the shoe factory of Slater and Morrill, amounting to $15,776.51, from the Company's office building to the factory through the main street of South Braintree, Massachusetts. As the murder was being committed a car containing several other men drew up to the spot. The murderers threw the two boxes into the car, jumped in themselves, and were driven away at high speed across some near-by railroad tracks. Two days later this car was found abandoned in woods at a distance from the scene of the crime. Leading away from this spot were the tracks of a smaller car. At the time of the Braintree holdup the police were investigating a similar crime in the neighbouring town of Bridgewater. In both cases a gang was involved. In both they made off in a car. In both eyewitnesses believed the criminals to be Italians. In the Bridgewater holdup the car had left the scene in the direction of Cochesett. Chief Stewart of Bridgewater was therefore, at the time of the Braintree murders on the trail of an Italian owning or driving a car in Cochesett. He found his man in one Boda, whose car was then in a garage awaiting repairs. Stewart instructed

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May 5, Boda and three other Italians did in fact call.

To explain how they came to do so let us recall here the proceedings for the wholesale deportation of Reds under Attorney-General Palmer in the ~~spring of~~ 1920. In particular the case of one Salsedo must be borne in mind - a ~~radical~~ who was held incommunicado in a room in the New York offices of the Department of Justice on the fourteenth floor of a Park Row building. Boda and his companions were friends of Salsedo. On May 4th. they learned that Salsedo had been found dead on the sidewalk outside the Park Row building, and already frightened by the Red raids, bestirred themselves to "hide the literature and notify the friends against the federal police." For this purpose an automobile was needed and they turned to Boda. Such were the circumstances under which the four Italians appeared on the evening of May 5, at the Johnson garage. Two of them were Sacco and Vanzetti. Mrs. Johnson telephoned the police. The car was not available and the Italians left, Sacco and Vanzetti to board a street car for Brockton, Boda and the fourth member, Orciani, on a motor cycle. Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested on the street car. Orciani was arrested the next day, and Boda was never heard of again.

It was either because Salsedo was murdered or because Boda was murdered that Sacco and Vanzetti became involved in a plot that led to Salsedo's death and Boda's disappearance

Stewart at once sought to apply his theory of the commission of the two "jobs" by one gang. The theory, however broke down. Orciani had been at work

of the Bands of agents of the Dept of J

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The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti. "At About Three O'Clock in the Afternoon..." / Emma Goldman. – [1930?, fragment]. – 4 p. ; 31 × 24 cm.

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on the days of both crimes, so he was let go. Sacco, in continuous employment (1) at a shoe factory in Stoughton, had taken a day off (about which more later) on April 15th. Hence, while he could not be charged with the Bridgewater crime, he was charged with the Braintree murders; Vanzetti, as a fish peddler at Plymouth and his own employer, could not give the same kind of alibi for either day, and so he was held for both crimes.

Stewart's theory that the crime was committed by these Italian radicals was not shared by the head of the state police, who always maintained that it was the work of professionals.

Charged with the crime of murder on May 5, Sacco and Vanzetti were indicted on September 14, 1920 and put on trial May 21, 1921, at Dedham, Norfolk County. The setting of the trial, in the courthouse ~~opposite the old home of Fisher Ames~~, furnished a striking contract to the background and antecedents of the prisoners. Dedham is a quiet residential suburb, inhabited by well-to-do Bostonians with a surviving element of New England small farmers. Part of the jury were specially selected by the sheriff's deputies from persons whom they deemed "representative citizens", "substantial" and "intelligent"

(1) At the trial Sacco's employer testified as follows about him: " . . . . . he was a very steady worker. He worked very steady from seven in the morning until quitting time at night and was on the job every day that you could expect any healthy man to work. There was times when he was two or three hours late on account of sickness but outside of his getting through and talking of going to the old country, he was on the job every day."

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The presiding judge was Webster Thayer of Worcester. The chief counsel for these Italians, Fred H. Moore, was a Westener, himself a radical and a professional defender of radicals. In opinion, as well as in fact, he was an "outsider." unfamiliar with the traditions of the Massachusetts bench, not even a member of the Massachusetts bar, the characteristics of Judge Thayer unknown to him, Moore found neither professional nor personal sympathies between himself and the Judge. So far as the relations between court and counsel seriously, even if unconsciously, affect the temper of a trial, Moore was a factor of irritation and not of appeasement. Sacco and Vanzetti spoke very broken English, and their testimony shows how often they misunderstood the questions put to them. A court interpreter was used, but his conduct raised such doubts (1) that the defendants brought their own interpreter to check his questions and answers. The trial lasted nearly seven weeks, and on July 14,1921, Sacco and Vanzetti were found guilty of murder in the first degree.

(1) Some time after the trial this interpreter was convicted of larceny.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

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The Emma Goldman Papers
The American Labor Movement / Emma Goldman. – 6 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.
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THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT.

Tow women pioneers. Fanny Wright and Molly McGuire.The latter through the members of the Mollie McGuires she had organized in Ireland and who escaped to the U.S.

Fanny Wright began to pleade the cause of labor in 1826. The result was not far reaching until the Irish miners of Pennsylvina engaged in a serieasof strkes between 1836,to 1848.

The Knights of Liberty with very painful beginings nevertheless rose to a formidable body embarcing all trades in the U.S. The men who infused awakened class consciousness in that organization were the Anarchists Albert Parson,Dyer D.Lam and Fielding who was a Scoialist. The Knights of Liberty also received tremendiou impetus through the influx of German immigtation. Due to the iron Bismarkian Law which surppresed everything in German tens of thousand of German workes flocked to the U.S. They were mostly Social Democrates. But at that time the riigid line of demarcation between the socialists and Anarchists had not been drawn as in later years. They

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could and did work together.Especially in Illinois where Agust Spiess, a brillina Anarchist and his comrades Engel,F Fischer and Lingg and August Schwab a Social Democrats were working hand in glove to organize the v$_a$rious German trades into Militant unions. The Alaram published by Pasons and his group and the Chcago Srbeiter Zeitung with Spiess as the editor in Chief helped to prepare the workers for the first class conscious step in th U.S. for the eight hour struggle.

In 1884 the In.ernat.ional Wookers Ass met in Con vention in Pittsburg and decided upon the necessity of direct economic action and the general strike in the forthcoming campaigns for the eight hour work day. From thence on until May fourth 18186 the revolutionary tide rose ever high.It invlolbed from 250,to 300,000 workers all over the country with the largest number in Chcago.embracing the entire building trades.

The more militant the workers became the more brutal their enemies.Especially

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THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT.

Fanny Wright, first to come out for the need of Labor organization in 1826.

The part Irish workers plaied in large strikes between 1836, to 1848.

The Molly MC Guires organized by a woman to figt British landlordism. Their en.

Knight os Labor sprnag from the soul of the U.S. its class consciousness infused into it by the Anarchists Albert Parsons, and Dyer D. Lumm abd other revolutionists. At the same time the large German immigration Of workers were orgabized along industrial lines. The mai n leaders of in Ill of these formidable and class conscious unions were Augst Speiss, Friedrich Eneglfscher and Lingg.

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Gene Debs saw in them the pioneer rebels of the American labour movement.

The Knights of Labour of America soil--First trade union attempt.

The Anarchist, Albert Parson.

Lizzy and Wm. Holme, Dyer D. Lum, and the Socialist Fielding, the moving spirit in the Knights of Labour.

The influx of German Immig. owing to the Bismarkian Iron law. Though in its majority Social Democrats were yet of a real revolutionary character.

So, too, was the N.Y. Volks Zeitung whose leading spirits were far above those who pass as Socialists to-day.

August spies, Engel, Fischer, Lingg, Anarchists and socials were the moving spirit in the strikes that followed one another in quick succession.

Pittsburg Conference 1883, Pittsburg Int. W. Ass. came out for direct action and the General Strike.

The events preceeding the Haymarket Bomb Explosion.

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Eight hour day struggle. 1886 preceded by the Carpenters on May 1, 1884 and led to a General Strike

The savagery of the police. The massacre at the McCormick works.

The protest meeting May 4th, 1886. The arrest, trial, conviction and judicial murder of the Chicago Anarchists.

Terence Powderly the Judas who sold Parson and the others and broke the Knights of Labour.

The A. F. of L. militant in the beginning. Led many strikes.

Steel Workers, Pennsylvania. 1892

Alex. Berkman's Act.

1894 Pullman strike with Debs.

~~1906 United Mine Workers.~~ 1903 Colorado Miners

Haywood, Mayer, Pettibone, charge killed Governor Steunenberg. Alex Nambu Russell

I.W.W. a real proletarian organization.

Difference East and West.

Free speech fights and strikes.

Organization of unskilled labour.

Part of the Jewish Labour movement in American Hebrew Trade.

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Needle trade.

Hall, Suhr and Ford. Everett Waeb., Little, Centralia

The War broke the organization.

Heywood's action.

Decision 1921, 11 Red Trade Union Int. did the rest.

Billings-Mooney case.

General strike in San Francisco and Textile Strike

proves a worker far from class conscious and still believes

in political measures.

Direct Economic Organization and action the only

weapon.

Mooney Billings case

struggle is not merely an economic one but a psychological one

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PRINCIPLES OF REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM

1. REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM, BASING ITSELF ON THE CLASS-WAR, AIMS AT THE UNION OF ALL MANUAL AND INTELLECTUAL WORKERS IN ECONOMIC FIGHTING ORGANIZATIONS STRUGGLING FOR THEIR EMANCIPATION FORM THE YOKE OF WAGE SLAVERY AND FROM THE OPPRESSION OF THE STATE. ITS GOAL CONSISTS IN THE RE-ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL LIFE ON THE BASIS OF FREE COMMUNISM, BY MEANS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION OF THE WORKING CLASS ITSELF. IT CONSIDERS THAT THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PROLETARIAT ARE ALONE CAPABLE OF REALISING THIS AIM, AND, IN CONSEQUENCE, ITS APPEAL IS ADDRESSED TO WORKERS IN THEIR CAPACITY OF PRODUCERS AND CREATORS OF SOCIAL RICHES, IN OPPOSITION TO THE MODERN POLITICAL LABOR PARTIES WHICH CAN NEVER BE CONSIDERED AT ALL FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF ECONOMIC RE-ORGANIZATION.

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2. REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM IS THE CONFIRMED ENEMY OF EVERY FORM OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MONOPOLY, AND AIMS AT ITS ABOLITION BY MEANS OF ECONOMIC COMMUNES AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANS OF FIELD AND FACTORY WORKERS ON THE BASIS OF A FREE SYSTEM OF COUNCILS, ENTIRELY LIBERATED FROM SUBORDINATION TO ANY GOVERNMENT OR POLITICAL PARTY. AGAINST THE POLITICS OF THE STATE AND OF PARTIES IT ERECTS THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF LABOR; AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF MEN, IT SETS UP THE MANAGEMENT OF THINGS. CONSEQUENTLY, IT HAS NOT FOR ITS OBJECT THE CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER, BUT THE ABOLITION OF EVERY STATE FUNCTION IN SOCIAL LIFE. IT CONSIDERS THAT, ALONG WITH THE MONOPOLY OF PROPERTY, SHOULD DISAPPEAR ALSO THE MONOPOLY OF DOMINATION, AND THAT ANY FORM OF THE STATE, INCLUDING THE FORM OF THE "DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT" WILL ALWAYS BE THE CREATOR OF NEW MONOPOLIES AND NEW PRIVILEGES: IT COULD NEVER BE AN INSTRUMENT OF LIBERATION.

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3. THE DOUBLE TASK OF REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM IS AS FOLLOWS: ON THE ONE HAND IT PURSUES THE DAILY REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FOR THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF EXISTING SOCIETY; ON THE OTHER HAND, ITS ULTIMATE GOAL IS TO RAISE THE MASSES TO THE INDEPENDENT MANAGEMENT OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION, AS WELL AS TO THE TRANSFER INTO THEIR OWN HANDS OF ALL THE RAMIFICATIONS OF SOCIAL LIFE. IT IS CONVINCED THAT THE ORGANIZATION OF AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM, RESTING ON THE PRODUCER AND BUILT UP FROM BELOW UPWARDS, CAN NEVER BE REGULATED BY GOVERNMENTAL DECREES, BUT ONLY BY THE COMMON ACTION OF ALL MANUAL AND INTELLECTUAL WORKERS IN EVERY BRANCH OF INDUSTRY, BY THE CONDUCT OF FACTORIES BY THE PRODUCERS THEMSELVES IN SUCH A WAY THAT EACH GROUP, WORKSHOP OR BRANCH OF INDUSTRY, IS AN AUTONOMOUS SECTION OF THE GENERAL ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION, SYSTEMATICALLY DEVELOPING PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION IN THE INTERESTS OF THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY IN ACCORDANCE WITH A WELL-DETERMINED PLAN AND ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL AGREEMENTS.

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4. REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM IS OPPOSED TO EVERY CENTRALIST TENDENCY AND ORGANIZATION, WHICH IS BUT BORROWED FROM THE STATE AND THE CHURCH, AND WHICH STIFLES METHODICALLY EVERY SPIRIT OF INITIATIVE AND EVERY INDEPENDENT THOUGHT. CENTRALISM IS AN ARTIFICIAL ORGANIZATION FROM TOP TO BOTTOM, WHICH HANDS OVER EN BLOC TO A HANDFUL OF MEN, THE REGULATION OF THE AFFAIRS OF A WHOLE COMMUNITY. THE INDIVIDUAL BECOMES, THEREFORE, NOTHING BUT AN AUTOMATON DIRECTED AND MOVED FROM ABOVE. THE INTERESTS OF THE COMMUNITY YIELD PLACE TO THE PRIVILEGES OF A FEW; VARIETY IS REPLACED BY UNIFORMITY; PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY BY A SOULLESS DISCIPLINE; REAL EDUCATION BY A VENEER. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM ADVOCATES FEDERALIST ORGANIZATION; THAT IS TO SAY, AN ORGANIZATION, FROM BELOW UPWARDS, OF A FREE UNION OF ALL FORCES ON THE BASIS OF COMMON IDEAS AND INTERESTS.

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5. REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM REJECTS ALL PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY AND ALL COOPERATION WITH LEGISLATIVE BODIES. UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, ON HOWEVER WIDE A BASIS, CANNOT BRING ABOUT THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE FLAGRANT CONTRADICTIONS EXISTING IN THE VERY BOSOM OF MODERN SOCIETY; THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM HAS BUT ONE OBJECT, VIZ., TO LEND THE APPEARANCE OF LEGAL RIGHT TO THE REIGN OF LEGAL AND SOCIAL INJUSTICE, TO PERSUADE SLAVES TO FIX THE SEAL OF THE LAW ONTO THEIR OWN ENSLAVEMENT.

6. REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM REJECTS ALL ARBITRARILY FIXED POLITICAL AND NATIONALS FRONTIERS, AND IT SEES IN NATIONALISM NOTHING ELSE BUT THE RELIGION OF THE MODERN STATE, BEHIND WHICH ARE CONCEALED THE MATERIAL INTERESTS OF THE POSSESSING CLASSES. IT RECOGNIZES ONLY REGIONAL DIFFERENCES, AND DEMANDS FOR EVERY GROUP THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN HARMONIOUS SOLIDARITY WITH ALL OTHER ASSOCIATIONS OF AN ECONOMIC, TERRITORIAL OR NATIONAL ORDER.

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7. IT IS FOR THESE SAME REASONS THAT REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM OPPOSES MILITARISM IN ALL ITS FORMS, AND CONSIDERS ANTI-MILITARIST PROPAGANDA AS ONE OF ITS MOST IMPORTANT TASKS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE PRESENT SYSTEM. IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, IT URGES INDIVIDUAL REFUSAL OF MILITARY SERVICE, AND ESPECIALLY, ORGANIZED BOYCOTT AGAINST THE MANUFACTURE OF WAR MATERIAL.

8. REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM STANDS ON THE PLATFORM OF DIRECT ACTION, AND SUPPORTS ALL STRUGGLES WHICH ARE NOT IN CONTRADICTION WITH ITS AIMS, VIZ., THE ABOLITION OF ECONOMIC MONOPOLY AND OF THE DOMINATION OF THE STATE. THE METHODS OF FIGHT ARE THE STRIKE, THE BOYCOTT, SABOTAGE, ETC. DIRECT ACTION FINDS ITS MOST PRONOUNCED EXPRESSION IN THE GENERAL STRIKE WHICH, AT THE SAME TIME, FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM, OUGHT TO BE THE PRELUDE TO THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

9. ALTHOUGH ENEMIES OF ALL FORMS OF ORGANIZED VIOLENCE IN THE HANDS OF ANY GOVERNMENT, THE SYNDICALISTS DO NOT

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FORGET THAT THE DECISIVE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE CAPITALISM OF TODAY AND THE FREE COMMUNISM OF TOMORROW, WILL NOT TAKE PLACE WITHOUT SERIOUS COLLISIONS. THEY RECOGNISE VIOLENCE, THEREFORE, AS A MEANS OF DEFENCE AGAINST THE METHODS OF VIOLENCE OF THE RULING CLASSES, IN THE STRUGGLE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE FOR THE EXPROPRIATION OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND OF THE LAND. JUST AS THIS EXPROPIATION CANNOT BE COMMENCED AND CARRIED TO A SUCCESSFUL ISSUE EXCEPT BY THE REVOLUTIONARY ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WORKERS, SO ALSO THE DEFENCE OF THE REVOLUTION SHOULD BE IN THE HANDS OF THESE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS, AND NOT IN THOSE OF ANY MILITARY OR OTHER ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING OUTSIDE THE ECONOMIC ORGANS.

10. <u>IT IS ONLY IN THE</u> REVOLUTIONARY ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WORKING CLASS THAT IS TO BE FOUND THE POWER APT capable TO CARRY OUT ITS EMANCIPATION, AS WELL AS THE CREATIVE ENERGY NECESSARY FOR THE REORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY ON THE BASIS OF FREE COMMUNISM.

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[The Modern Theory of the General Strike] / Emma Goldman. – 10 p. ; 30 × 20 cm.

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~~Attempt~~ 2 attempt of
Lazarus to reason
on a scientific
and rational
basis the capitalist
class has ever
in forming the base
until the present
day has truly
been an imperfect science
and ignorance

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Introduction to pamphlet by Emma Goldman on the General Strike

Just heard of in England in 1917. It was generally an unemployed frame work notion. Such a strike was ~~to~~ spread over Sunday. Mansfield, Derby, Nottingham, ~~Leicester~~ Leicester, Yorkshire & other places and though ~~defeat by~~ not successful, the General strike attempted was again attempted in 1916, 20, 24 & 29.

Mary Ann, Feb 7.

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But the real cons class
conscious component
of the General Strike
idea was William
Benleau. In 1832
he printed a pamphlet
called "Grand National
Holiday and Congress
of the Productive
Classes." The theory
methods & language
of Benleau are given
now a ~~head~~ of ~~them~~
come in place.
so sad seeing
was that simple
workingmen

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p. 3

Berkman voiced the gist of the modern theory of the General Strike; that the many are subject to the few through ignorance of their own power, although they knew it the state could not go on for a very ~~c~~ reason, but all that is required ~~to~~ ~~remedy~~ is united action, rather, cessation of action. The artist used

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The Mr Van Dusen in his report of the Spanish situation, a century later repeats the same idea.

Yet through the General strike had originated in England nothing idea's dance in that country in the usual fashion by cigars to employ to the workers in the machinery and furnishing of the General strike

Be made known [illegible]

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I L P saw to it
that the General Strike
should never again
raise its head.
They had reckoned
without the economic
factors that, in the
more powerful than
any decisions,
The General Strike
in 1926 was a
a magnificent display
of labor's power
only the masses have
been prepared. Its failure
has done to that much
more than the luck

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vision and courage
of the Trade Union
Council that had
so ignominiously
called off the strike

The real battlefield
of the General strike
is the Factory

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6 1/2

The same cause
was back of the
General strikes
that had taken
place in ~~America~~ Seattle
Winnipeg
& recently in San
Francisco. Code 4a
The Made Hope of
a Fe, Sonora last July
repudiated the General
strike, as General
nonsense. Only
the I W W and
the anarchists had
stressed its importance

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7

In the Latin countries where the Revolutionary and anarchy syndicalist tendencies have taken hold the General Strike has proved an invaluable weapon.

In point of fact, it was an anarchist, a carpenter, who introduced the resolution in the Bordeaux Congress of the National Federation of Syndicats 1894

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~~[illegible]~~ fun as the General strike.

Much to the disgust of the Murzepper group led by the Guedyts, the resolution was adopted with another rarm.

Dance and all the other Satin counter dance venues remained the ~~[illegible]~~ fertile grounds of the General strike

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FALLACIES POLITICAL ACTION

INTRODUCTION, QUOTE AMERICAND SAYING ABOUT POLITICIANS.

IF LABORS CHOICE ELECTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

FAIL IN doing ANY THING SUBSTANTIAL THE EXCUSE WILL
"WE'RE NOT IN POWER WE ARE ONLY IN OFFICE. WELL IN AUSTRIALIA
LABOR HAS JUST RECEIVED A MAJORITY VOTE WILL THE OLD REACTIONARY
ARBITRATION LAWS HELPED TO PASS BY LABOR CEASE TO FUNCTION?
I DOUBT IT VERY MUCH. BUT WHATEVER AMELIORATIONS WILL COME
FROM THE NEW AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT IT IS CERTAIN THAT NOT A STONE
WILL BE REMOVED FROM THE CAPITALIST STRUCTURE.

SOCIALISM CAME AS A GRAND LIBERATING FORCE. ~~[illegible]~~
BY MEANS OF ITS BELIEF IN POLITICAL ACTION THAT WOULD HELP
SOCIALISM TO SEIZE THE STATE MACHINE IT HAS BECOME REFORMIST
AND REFRACTORY WHILE THE FRAME WORK OF THE CAPITALIST STRUCTURE.
I mean to prove this trisim by numerous examples in nearly
every country where socialism has become politically strong,

In the early period of socialism political action was hailed as an educational

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and propaganda
methods. If you
decide to be
the ruling party,
the support leading
we must be in
a position to
~~defeat~~ crushing
cause. That may
have been as the
in Germany when
the Reichstag

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Was the only free language to its members

immune from arrest. But even then, one of the usual old Bible fiery and unexpurgated, mostly quickly dropped

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4

The Reichstag
was, lest a house
of stagnation
and that full
grown growing
anything full
ideas, the socialist
it is necessary
helping to strengthen
the capitalistic
state

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5

Must read by
no means below
the only sect
of Revolutionary
of political and
Parliamentary
action. Not
~~Anarchist~~ ~~and~~
~~Direct Action~~
New Zealand

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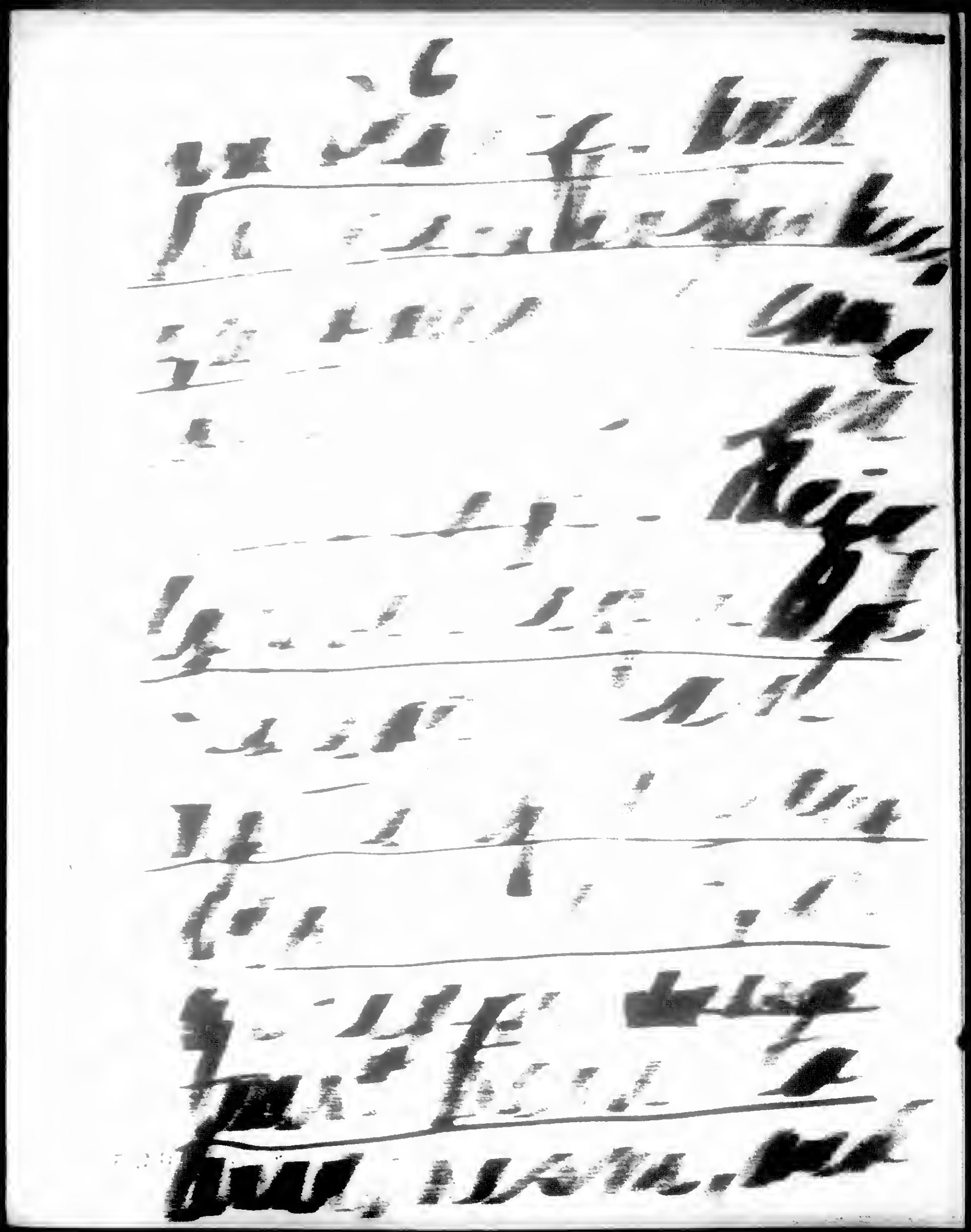

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17

its importance
you placed economic
action as the
only effective
means for
immediate
economic
social changes
The seed growing
beginning of
the revolutionary and
labour movement

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21810

In all countries
fully developed
the individual
is free well
there is not
the same
[illegible]

In more civilized
[illegible] a majority
of the [illegible]
socialist end

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21011

9

a more cursory analysis of the so called Salem Riots in Europe & the U S!

502

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21812

Laban 9/12

in ~~order~~ of simply
stating ~~ignorance~~
any darling theme
of the insignificant
gains achieved
~~after more than~~
~~fifty years of~~
~~continuous~~
~~by the vast~~
~~majority~~ in many

503

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21813

lands" "2 ways
have achieved
Italian occupation
and parce. Neye
has been upon
us till in the
Russian Revolution
occupying the right
people" "in
the rule
as Turner Place
and even Dimo

504

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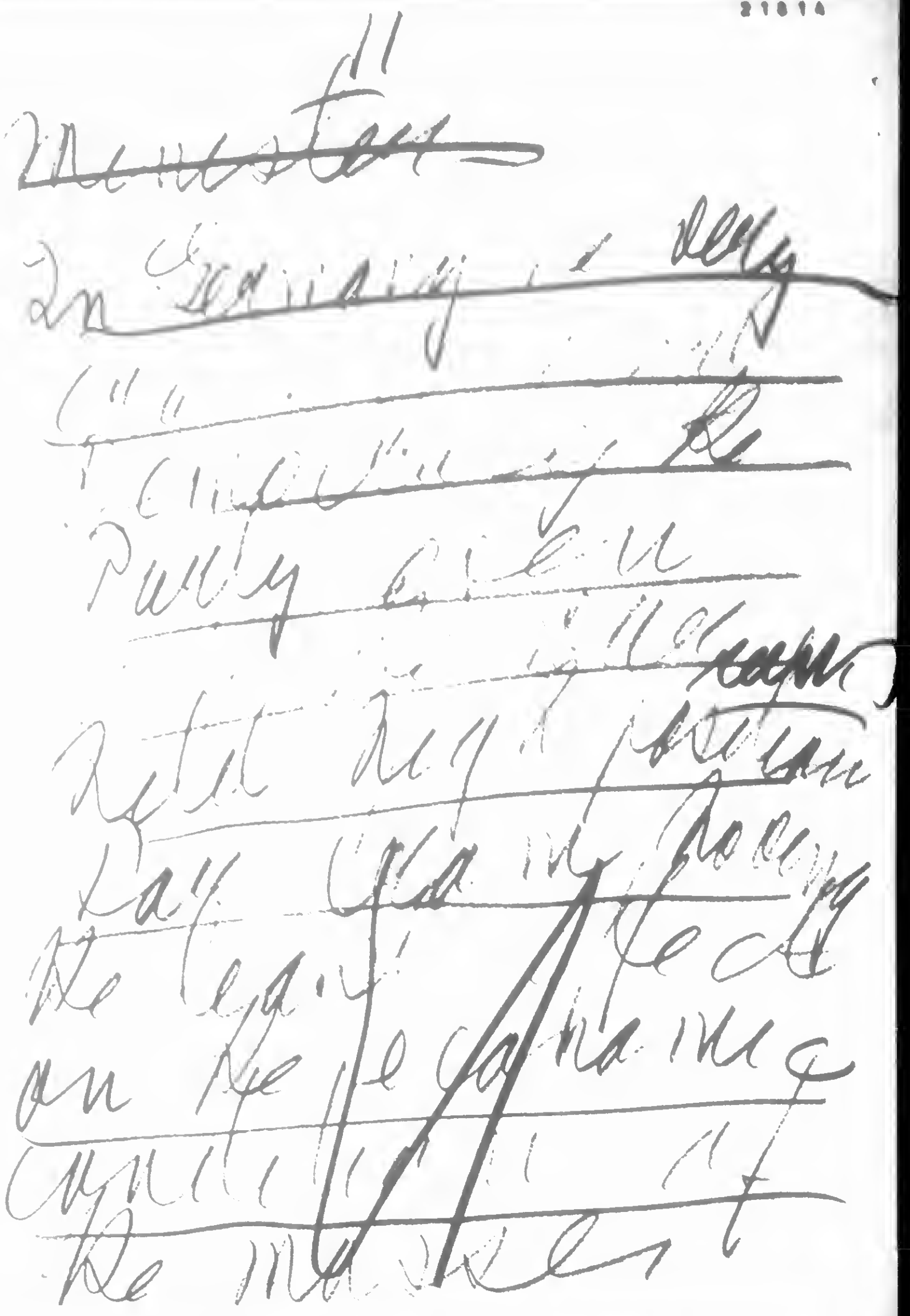

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21815

An fact is ~~Before the war~~
until the appeal
of the murderous
Hitler regime
German Social
Democracy could
be relied upon as
a powerful example
of the successful
socialism by
means of political
action.

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506

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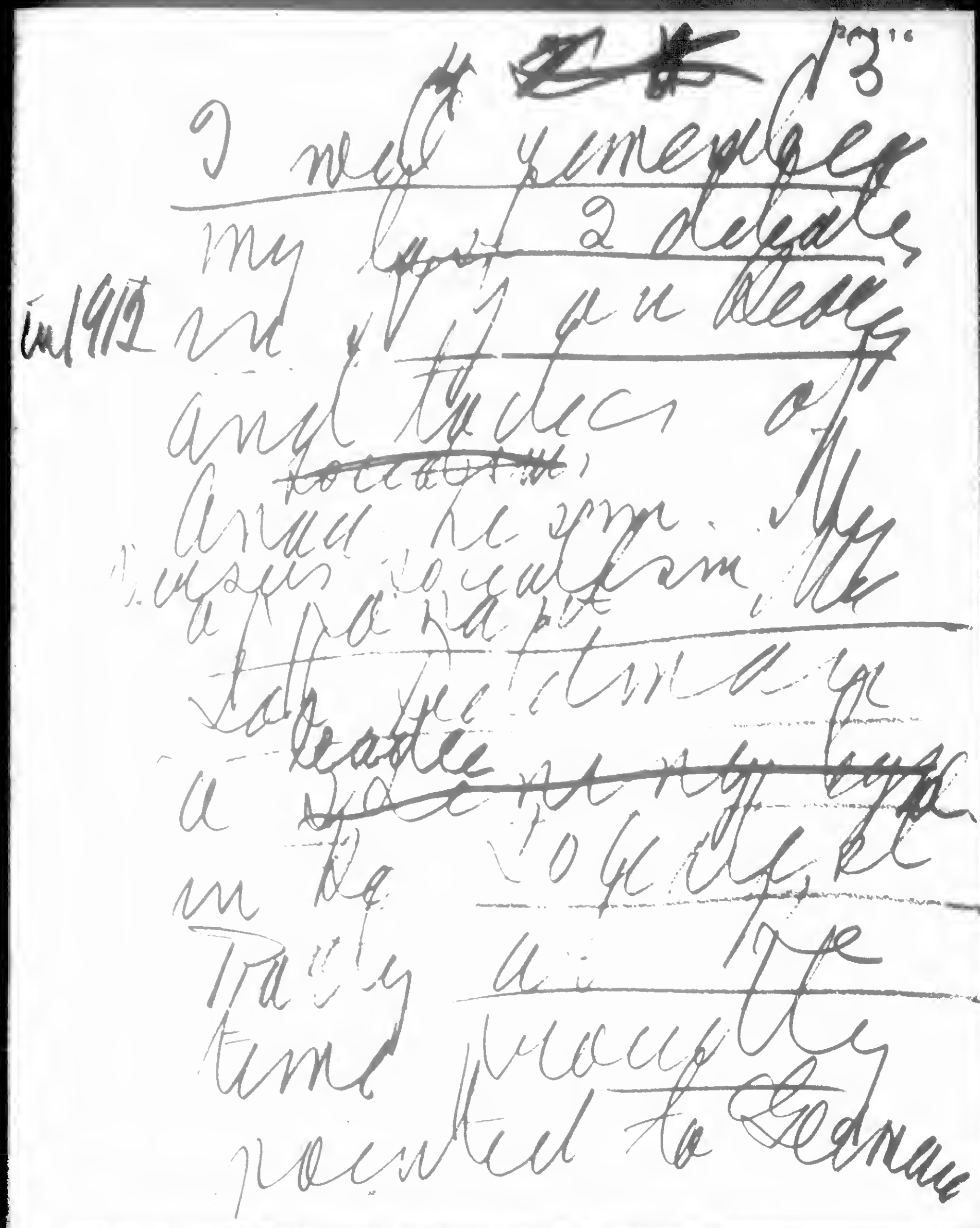

I need remember
my last 2 decades
in 1912 and if I am deceived
any trades of
~~[illegible]~~,
Anna Ke yn. My
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
a [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
a ~~[illegible]~~
in the [illegible]
Party in the
time [illegible]
revolted to [illegible]

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21817

14

to the 4 odd million
votes cast for
the Socialist Party
"Just think what
it can do to general
now as to change
fundamentally
our system of
exploitation
Well, I gave
and with me
million of workers

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14/2

Why do we need
not be the mothers
of warfare
We all saw
that Social Democracy
in Germany
turned out
the masses over
to the Malvolt War

509

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21519

15

Count Donnay
turned his massive
back in the major
way – Revelry
setting in well
into the full
Reactionist
after the
[illegible]
[illegible]
my [illegible]
betrayal of
the International

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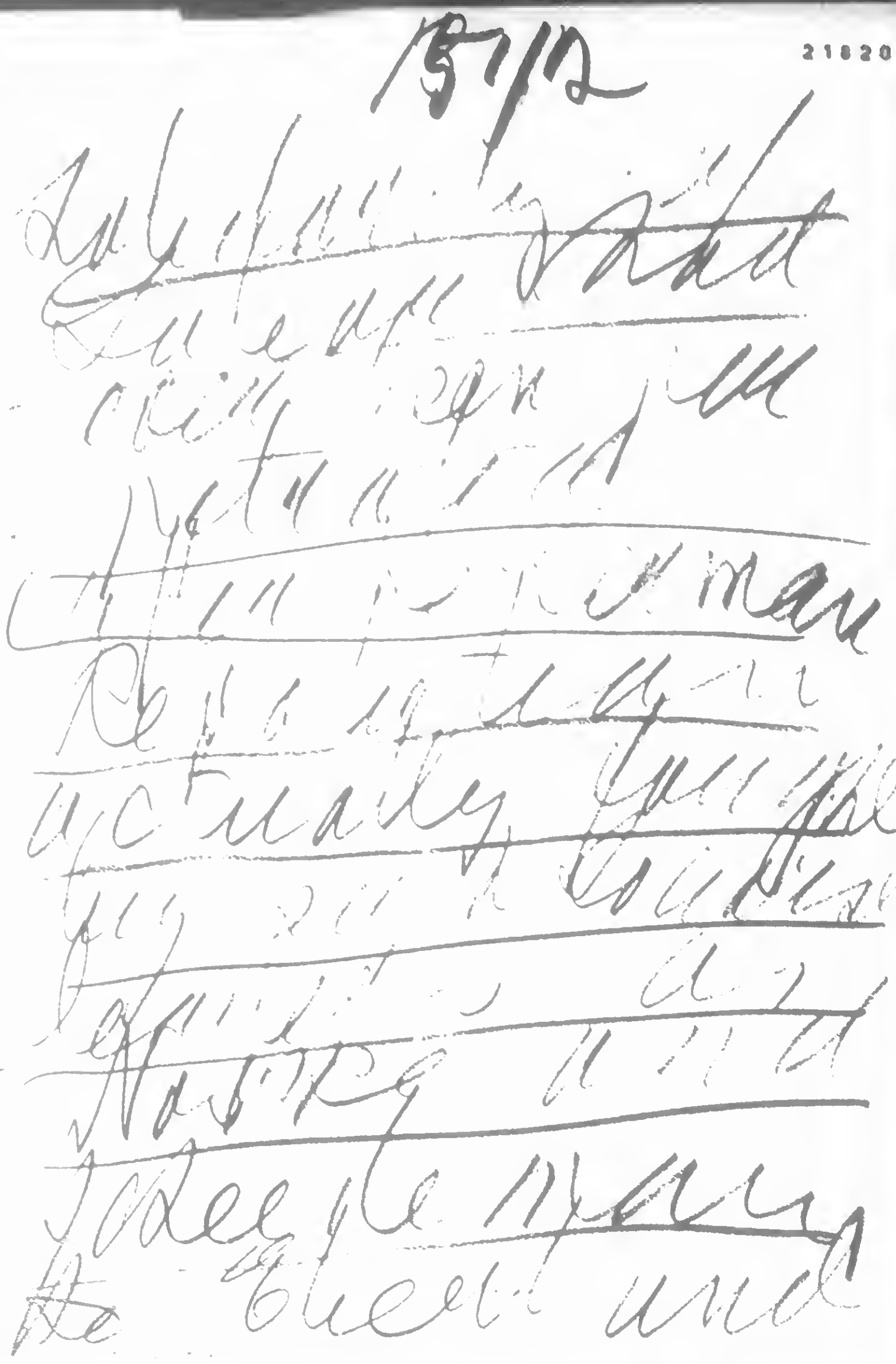
21820



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511

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16

21021

Have to just
Resolve
themselves for
a certain work
will in the
Future Republic
and dwelling of
the ~~called~~ of the
Rebellious force
they can use
as under the

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21822

for 16/2

Quiet, to vaugh
an public cal
a other as the
only means to
Russia. New
York
Time and exist
to ha' hope
tuy we to need
again to the
General strike

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21623

16 17

only to see that
effort, if given up
and often not
if it is unlawfully
to the effect
Party
is the letter
would result
no other name
been "usurped" since
the Fascists deemed

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21024

17/7

[illegible]

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515

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21825

18

So ingrained
that the cause,
political, moral
and the relief
in such
a psychology
to deal, that
even if you
all in the fallacy
the mass human
they should cu

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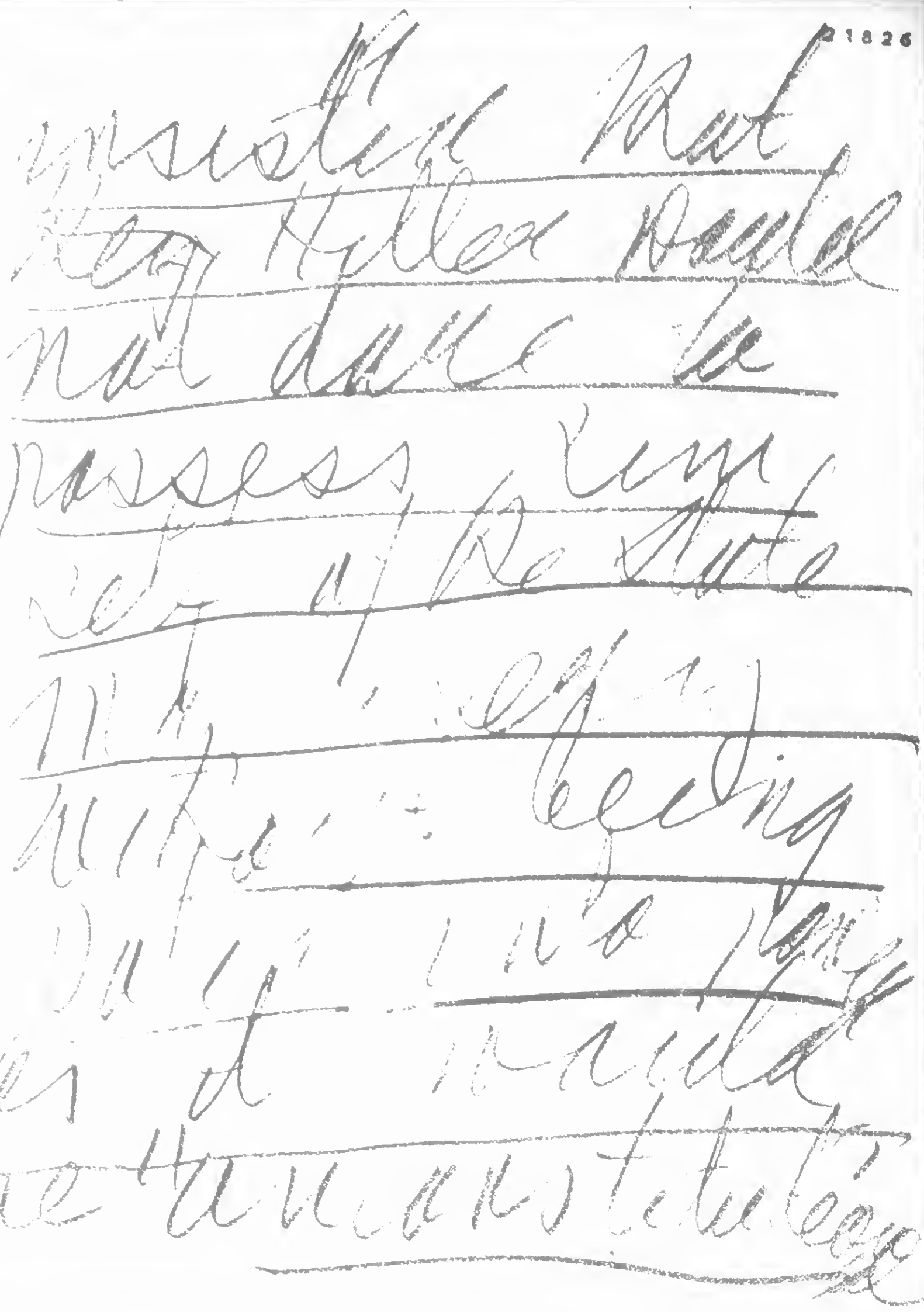

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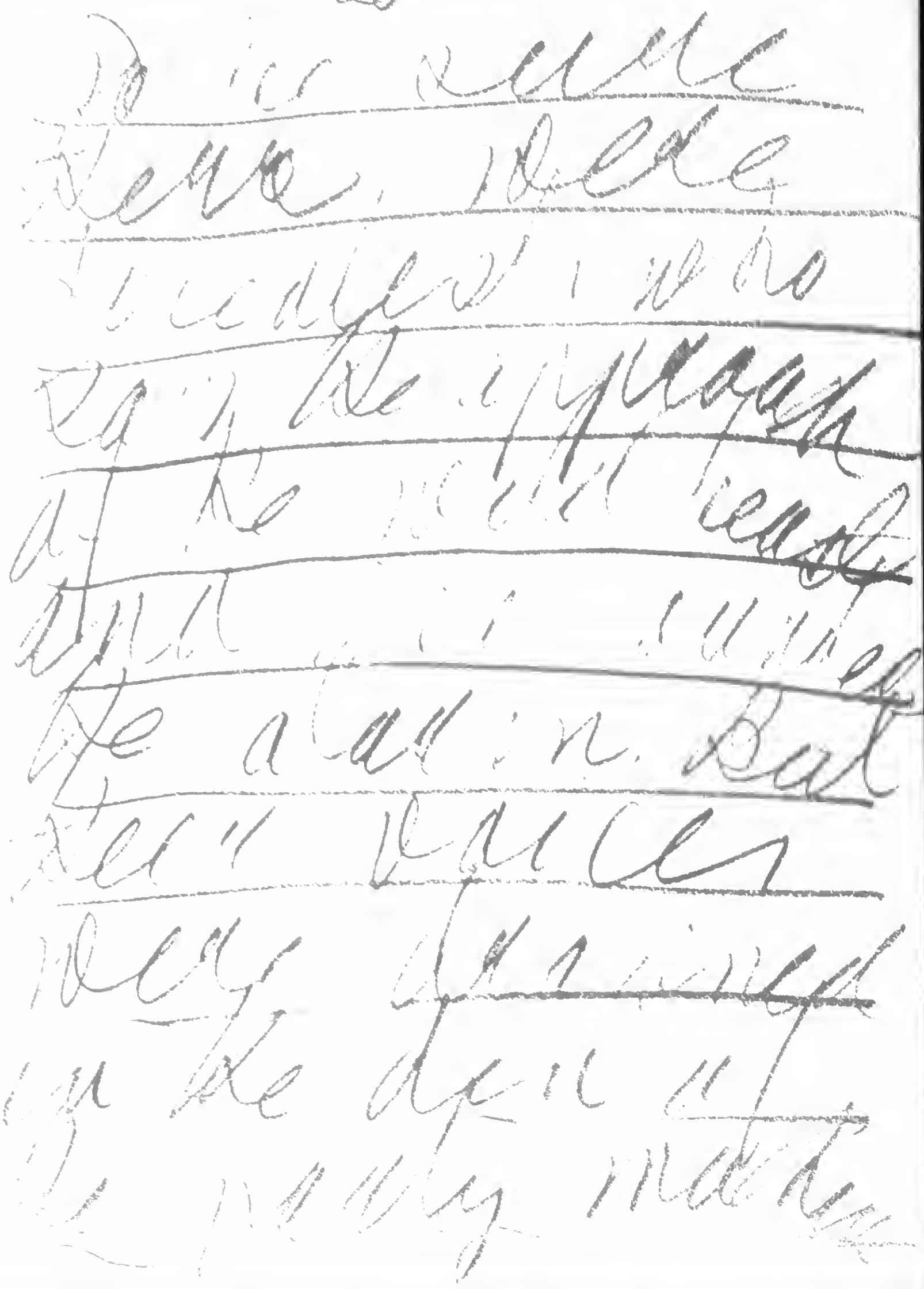
20

21827



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21

[illegible]

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State that
respondents
a full measure
for the calamity
that had come
to Germany
~~Be sure~~
Be sure you
have and can
prove it be
produced in

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21830

28

all free countries
to I will only
as well as the
Government. The
Anarchist speak
on political action
as I consider it
myself called
to speak as
well as the

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521

890710026

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24

ranks and file
In the U.S. for
years if 20 million
workers have
not resulted in
a simple measure
of an improvement
of the U.S. Reds
to "6 my hand
the Socialists
Salem Tuby m

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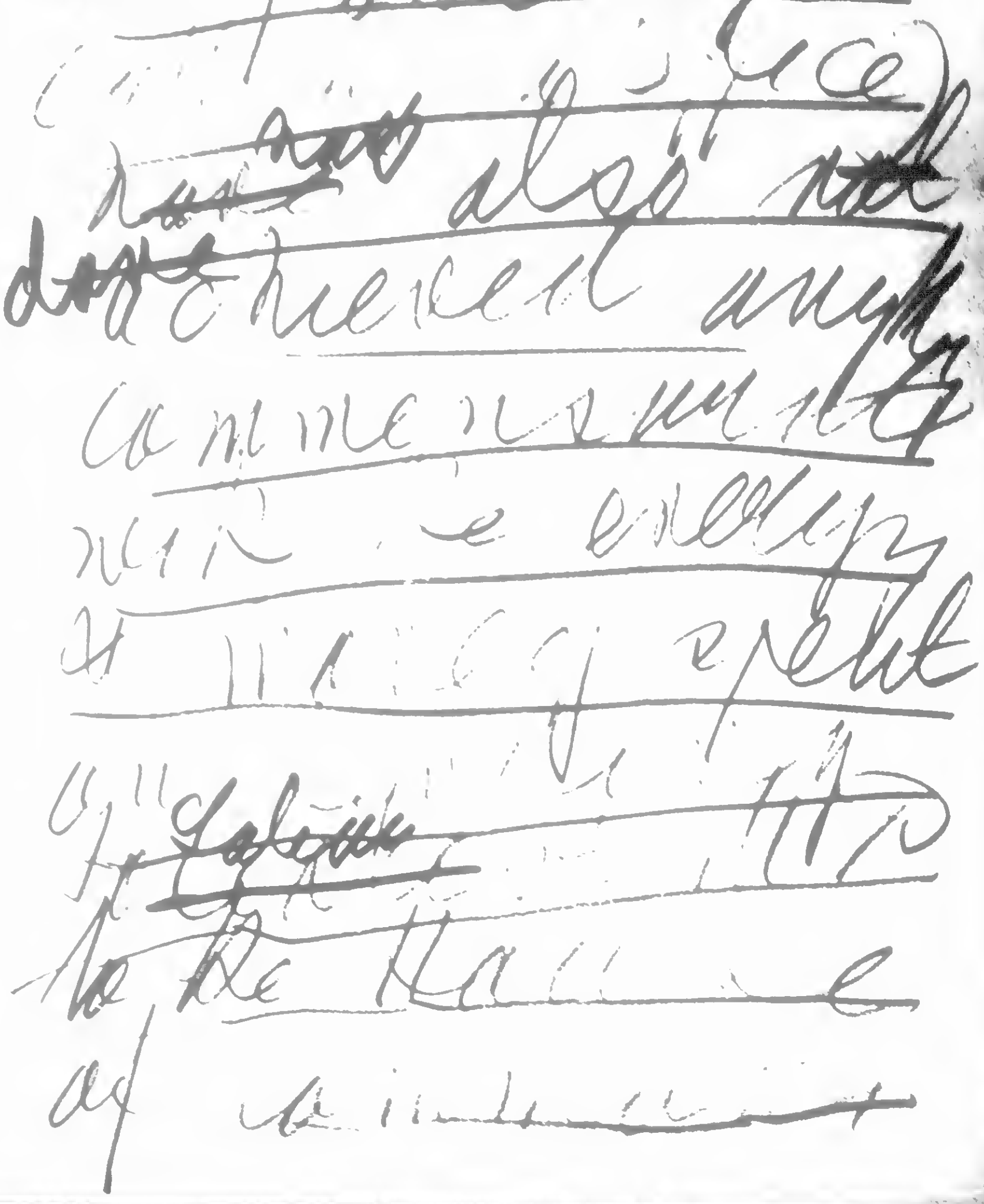
21882

25



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26

21033

On the [illegible]
[illegible], ~~[illegible]~~
it is [illegible]
that [illegible]
[illegible] steeped
for [illegible] to do
[illegible]
[illegible]
respect to [illegible]
[illegible] misguided
[illegible]

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27

21034

~~The Genesis~~
of the nurses
during the old
used Generic
nurse

525

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21088

28

Fallacies of Re
Sence "Anar
chy", "Law
less" in Re
Unions, "Dy
n", "Dea Ex
and" "Dan
the Socialist
party parties
Dail Years
on redemy

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29

[illegible]

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30

Stress.

The many is flat
in the mass instead
of being the scientific
fact. All practical
progress of this
century
has resulted
from individual
initiative. In
other words it
even the right

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21888

to vote was
actually gained
only by direct
and not political
tactics.
That [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Since then the
Socialists of these

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529

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21839

31

countries as well as in the West where, because Bolshevism has lost its [illegible] [illegible]!

France Socialists and even Communists are ~~[illegible]~~

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530

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21840

33

Concentrating all
their energies and
fighting cheap
on rules regular
measures. Fine
has at a time
when the cause
of free is in any
other direct
parts are among
and preparing
for a coup de

531

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2164

Fallacies of Political Action

[illegible] men
[illegible] 6 mos.
later, Kilbee
[illegible] down
[illegible] that the
majority people
have not been
[illegible] an and
It not applied
alike. It [illegible]
[illegible] such

532

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21642

NYPW 33 1/3

It is impossible to assume that fearing revolution have no lessened the number of the ruling class ~~[illegible]~~ neither [illegible] well [illegible] the [illegible] gutter

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38

wealth method
a struggle. Suppose
the "Free Right
Wants", will be
map", or are
does a day indefinitely
to u u u u u
Kill - Karl
the Co[illegible]
class [illegible]

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21844

Let go. 3-5 Would they not as yet be ready of Germany, crushing U. Still by greed against you to crush your energy? Would not the poison ink done

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36

Men people in
elegiac
and even
Plans not Reel
fit ses les
Cuttle But Re
e arena of
Re ~~c~~ ~~c~~ ~~c~~
~~Cut~~ ~~Cattle~~
not Re House
of Commons

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31044

34

The French Colonies
are for an Congress
to be Represented
the factory the
mine the mill
the office
the industrial
organization and
the masses must
have direct
participation

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38

the
in social struggle
most [illegible]
are he [illegible] by
means [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] is
to [illegible] commend
the [illegible] only
during [illegible] [illegible]
of [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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21849

Passive resistance
of the masses
a correct policy

The instinct fetish
of the General
Strike, Sabotage
the Boycott, Direct
Lock Them up

539

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21850

is another convincing proof of the fallacies of political action.

The fact that the capitalistic system was in Germany, Austria, Russia, Italy and Hungary, and to the surprise of the National socialists, and

540

860711073

The Emma Goldman Papers

[What Causes Revolution to Happen] / Emma Goldman. – (fragment). – 7 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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The defenders of the old order never showed enough intelligence to distinguish between one political school ~~to~~ and another — to see for instance that there is ~~as little~~ nothing in common between the school which worships the ~~God~~ Deity dictatorship of as those ~~which~~ the school which proclaim

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[What Causes Revolution to Happen] / Emma Goldman.— (fragment).— 7 p.; 21 × 17 cm.

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28 327

the ideal, nor utterly
also the only guarantee
for social & economic
security.

The rulers of to
day were their bureaus
are not concerned
with abstractions. They
need some ready
that will scare the
timid & distract
the attention of the masses
from the inner social

542

86071t073

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[What Causes Revolution to Happen] / Emma Goldman. – (fragment). – 7 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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29 320

disintegration.
No doubt there are thoughtful minds in the ruling class who are beginning to realize that no agitation, however, could get masses in revolutionary mood were they not engaged with political freedom, economic betterment, social equality. not

8607t1073

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[What Causes Revolution to Happen] / Emma Goldman.– (fragment).– 7 p.; 21 × 17 cm.

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30

Even, it there is a
semblance of human
justice in a country
the masses will not
be easily induced to return
Pais only frames that
the greater the injustice
in any given country
the more significant the
political reaction,
the more intense the
economic ~~inequality~~
suffering, the more

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330

31

Peace in that country
has been repeatedly
broken and by distinguished
people again
bearing out the
events in China
No amount of loud
talk or activity could
have averted the
shock of the
condolences, we are
not ripe for that

545

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32

If the revolution and
[illegible] revolutionary
had not so [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
in Alexandria, as
a natural [illegible]
which [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
I was, I did and

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[What Causes Revolution to Happen] / Emma Goldman. – (fragment). – 7 p.; 21 × 17 cm.

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332

as well remain a
revolutionist.

547

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[Economic Factors Alone Do Not Explain the Rise of Totalitarianism] / Emma Goldman. – (fragment). – 12 p. ; 30 × 19 cm.

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21728

Economic factors are strong reasons ~~for the rise of fascism~~ ~~to the "old" "masses"~~ ~~that when~~ ~~a new order~~. But they do not entirely explain ~~that tragedy~~ ~~we got the psychopathic~~ madness that often wreaks upon many the most cultured people.

The psychoanalyst, in full very little explained the dormant fear of the Nazi menace. He can not explain

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21729

1

all its former values
is the most
sacred and be vague
and be neglected.
Therein lies Hitler's
strength. His mastery
is to intoxicate
the German masses
by his lurid
word picture
and by feeding in the [illegible]
[illegible] his ideology
his edges of
social recognition
they are large
enough for the Statesman
Dictator to cover.

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21730

p 3

It only requires the right, social agent and spirit under to act in, we can the ~~wind~~ dark forces in my. But is indeed the key to the religious upheavals in the history of mankind.

In our time the ~~religious~~ mass ~~had~~ ~~been~~ once ~~possessed~~ assiduously worked upon by the Church. ~~And~~ been transferred to the political

550

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21731

Religion was the mirror of
emperate dream that
the same urge in
the face of sweeping
events, the masses
can neither explain
or master. Religion
therefore see the
finger of God
or some other
supernatural force
in every phenomena
unable to explain,
men must need,
believe. ~~Hence~~ Re-
ligion ~~accept~~

551

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21731

Religion was the opiate of the people during the Middle Ages, in the face of sweeping events, the masses can neither explain or master. Therefore see the finger of God or some supernatural force in every phenomena unable to explain, myself, need, believe. ~~Hence~~ Re, ~~easy accept~~

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21732

Totalitarian
Socialism and
the International
Danger
compare Bolsh
Party

1

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9 Nov 1946

~~Hat~~ Dupreed
by allies
Ethel Le

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Republic
and Russia
the Kulzea left
the generals
remained the
Allies

No Republic can
live by charity
alone. Russia
needs the
Russian

Soviet, Memorial
accepted Lenin

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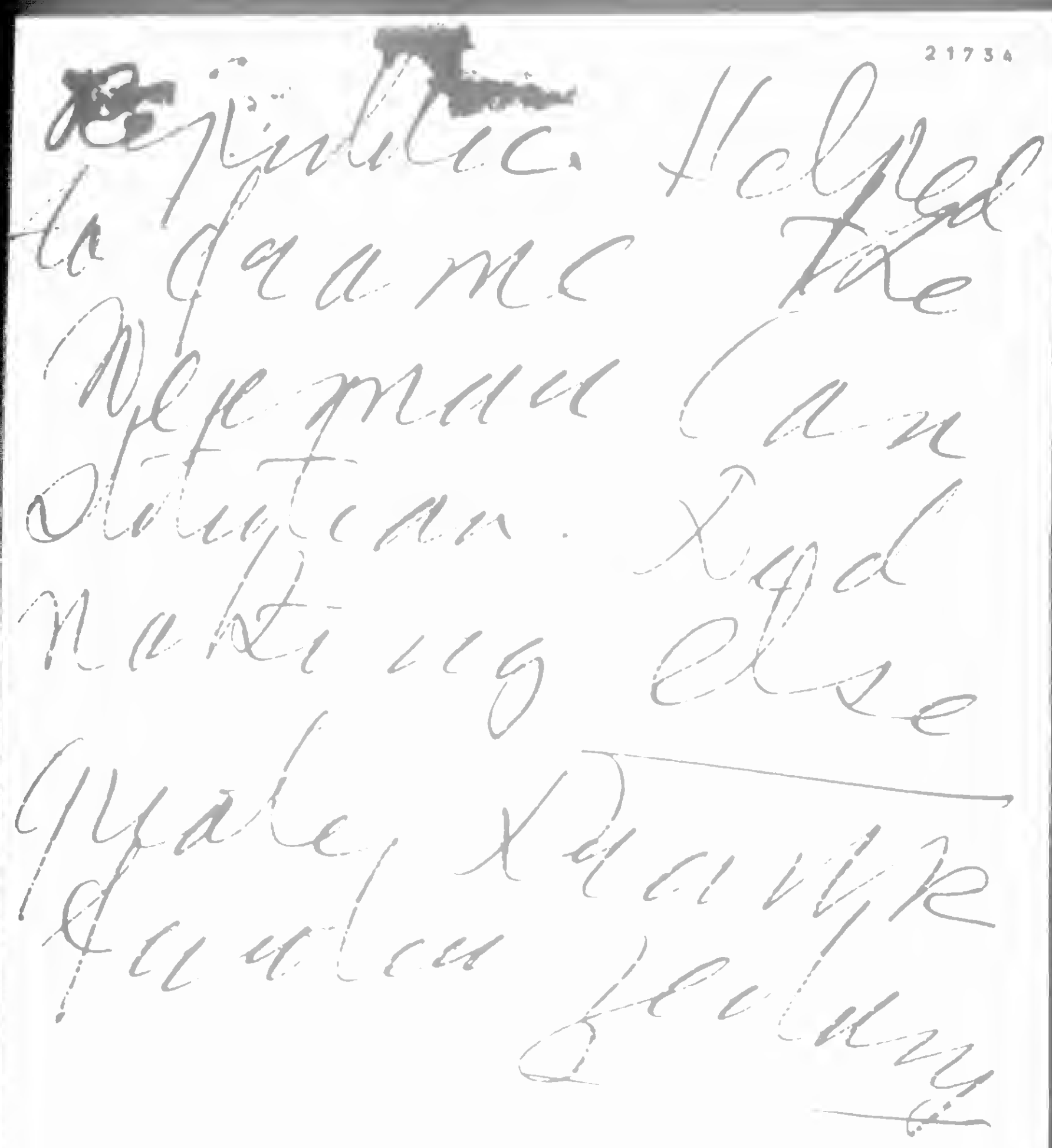

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21735

31/2

In Marxian Dialectic
discipline
& political methods
is quite unknown
for so, recognition
of need, for knowledge
by abstract labor
had been developed
by the Marxians making
of advancing capitalism
methods, the yet valid
result is the complete
passivity ~~upon the~~
in the face of

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including Emma

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21737

5

Origin of Fascism
National Socialism
Russia, but merely
a direct
the Ultimate
[illegible]
[illegible]
Hence
Hence [illegible]
a [illegible] occupied
the Political [illegible]
the [illegible]

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6

21738

The Catalonian
Austrian
The Russian
experiment

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[The Romantic Attitude to Revolution. Its Magic Power] / Emma Goldman.– [1933?].– 4 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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1) THE ROMANTIC ATTITUDE TO REVOLUTION.

ITS MAGIC POWER. hence preparation unnecessary

RUSSIA DISPELLED THIS ROSEATE CONCEPTION.

2) PREPARATION ESSENTIAL, YET STILL DENIED BY MANY WORKERS. because no one capacity [illegible] will cure

3) REVOLUTION IN ONE COUNTRY SPREAD LIKE WILD FIRE TO ALL OTHER COUNTRIES. [illegible]

WE KNOW NOW THIS HAS BEEN MOST MISLEADING.

REVOLUTIONS CANNOT BE BROUGHT ABOUT ARBITRARILY, CONDITIONED IN EACH COUNTRY ~~ON~~ THE AWAKENED REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE MASSES. [illegible]

THIS LEADS US TO THE CONCLUSION THAT A COUNTRY IN REVOLUTION IS ~~NECESSARILY~~ may be THROWN ON ITS OWN RESOURCES AND DEVISES.

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4) PRESENT CULTURE BOURGEOIS MUST BE DESTROYED BY 21747

THE PROLETARIAT. The new life and culture

NEW CULTURE CREATED WITHOUT INTELLIGENTSIA.

THIS PROVEN FANTASTIC IN RUSSIA BY LENIN HIMSELF.

EXTERMINATION OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA.

THEIR RECALL ON HIGH WAGES AND BONUSES.

THEIR MASTERY OVER THE WORKERS AFTER FOUR-YEAR CAMPAIGN OF HATE.

SINCE 1931 STALIN HAS INAUGERATED SAME PROCESS OF EXTERMINATION OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA. One of the strangest ~~reason~~ you see in efficiency going on after 14 yea

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NOT SO SPAIN, AS RECENTLY PROVEN.

ANTI-MILITARY WORK INDISPENSABLE BY MEANS OF EDUCATION AND AGITATION OF SOLDIERS, NOT BY CALLING THEM NAMES.

HE WHO DOES NOT WORK SHALL NOT EAT PROVED FATAL TO THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

LED TO 33 VARIETIES OF RATIONS AND ORGANIZED FORCE, HATE AND REVENGE. IN OTHER WORDS, DICTATORSHIP.

ONCE CAPITALISM IS ABOLISHED AND DIVESTED OF ITS POWER OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP AND MONOPOLY ALL PRODUCTS SHOULD BE MADE ACCESSIBLE ON A BASIS OF EQUALITY

THIS NOT BOURGEOIS SENTIMENTALITY. THIS IS CONSTRUCTIVE REVOLUTIONARY THINKING.

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9) THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS, OLD JESUITIC NOTION LEADING TO THE G.P.U., PRISONS, EXILE AND SHOOTING WITHOUT END.

I BELIEVE IN THE DEFENSE OF THE REVOLUTION AGAINST ARMED ATTACKS. BUT EXTERMINATION OF EVERY POLITICAL THINKING IS QUITE ANOTHER MATTER. THIS TURNS THE MEANS INTO THE END.

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2055

Historic Developement of Anarchism.

The contention that humanity must eternally be ruled, directed and kept in leash. The idea that government, laws and punishement are indispencable prove ~~considerable~~ callousal arrogance on the part of those who consider themselves called upon to ~~govern~~ coerce and ~~rule~~ unanimously qualified to do so. It also proves that them loudest proclaimers of democracy even have no faith whatever in the inherent possiblilities of man, ~~to rule himself~~. hence they ~~f~~ consider themselves chosen by destiny to ~~govern~~ unanimously, curtail and subjugate the rest of society to their will.

From Kings who ruled by devine right, to the various political parties who rule by the right of their party machine, all want to be clothed with power over their fellowman ~~because they [illegible]~~ By a Dee superior wisdom ~~pretend to know so much better than their duper what is good for them~~ that they presume to judge what is best for humanity

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~~The~~ Anarchism represents the only school of thought which maintains that ~~that~~ there never has been nor can there be a human being, or a group, so wise that they ~~knew~~ knew what ~~was~~ best for others, or that they should be given the right to ~~decide for others~~ do so. ~~Anarchists~~Anarchism contents this truism not only because of the evils effects upon those who are being governed, but also because of the effect ruling others has upon the rulers. ~~The~~

Power ~~of~~ over others corrupts, brutalizes and destroys one's sense of proportion and makes for stife, conflict and disintegration.

The adherents of Marxian socialism tell us that the cause of human enslavement is of ~~an~~ a ~~materi~~ material nature. it will cease when the masses will become economically free, when they will have free access

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the resources of life.

Certainly we Anarchists do not deny the driving power of the economic factor in society. Truth is we see this factor much clearer than the devout believers in the materialistic conception of history.

~~This is precisely~~ For this very reason ~~that~~ we insist that it matters little whether the balance of economic power is in the hands of a private individual as ~~xxxx~~ prevallant under the present capitalist system, or in the hnads of the aggragate known as the Socialist state, or the dictatorship of the political few. All need ~~xxxxxxxx~~ and use ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ the machinery of government to impose their system upon the mass of humanity, to coerce those who can not or will not submit to their ~~edicts~~ regime.

~~The struggle then between those who proclaim~~

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The struggle then between those who proclaime the need of keeping mankind in a political straight-jacket and those who ~~who~~ will ~~have no check of the initiative and expressio~~n of the possibilities of man, is really the age-long struggle between the idea of authority and liberty-the idea which sponcors the subordination of the individual to either God, the State, or Society, and the idea of the liberation of the individual from boundage of whatever form.

This idea runs like a red thread through all of human history, it has moved some of the greatest minds to oppose every form of governemnt and to advance their belief in a social ~~xxxxxxx~~ philosphy which will set humanity free from the shacles of the state.

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There have been periods in human history when governments were apparently entrenched and fixed, when so called peace prevailed. But this peace was usually followed by ~~xxxxxxxx~~ periods of incessant strife ~~xxx~~ man desperately trying to throw off the yoke imposed upon him. The ~~xxx~~ gigantic struggles during the middle ages in Italy, France, Holland, England and America from the 15th to the 18th century struggles which gave the present bourgeoisie their freedom and opportunity testify to the restless spirit of humanity in search for freedom.

And not only the middle ~~xxxxx~~ classes but the ~~xxxxxx~~ the masses held in boundage by the monopoly of thought in the hands of priests and chiefs, they to~~ck xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ again

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Anarchism: – The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law. The theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore, wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

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they strove to break their chains. Again and again the slaves rose in rebellion against thier masters, again and agian they demonstrated their burning need and longing for freedom. In this struggle the masses were inspired by great thinkers and rebels ~~xxxx~~ of every epoch. ~~Among the earliest~~

One of the earliest thinkers who saw in the pwer of the state the main cause of the social evils of his time was Zenoe, ~~the founder of the philosophic school known as Stoicism~~. He lived in 342 before Christ and was the founder of the philosophic school known as Soticism.

~~In our opinion, in contrast from Plato~~

Zeno repudiated the teachings of Plato who saw in the omnipotant state the highest moral expression of society. Instead he advanced his conception of a non-governmental society as the basis for the highest attainment of social life. ~~Zeno was far above the Greek convention~~ of

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The Stoics insisted that man must learn to live simplier if he will free himself from material dependence. They realized ~~the~~ though the strongest instinct in man is self preservation, nature had yet ~~implanted~~ ~~instilled in the individual~~ another ~~instinct,~~ driving power, the social insitnct ~~xxxxxxxxx because~~ man is inherently gregarious hence needs human association in his ~~effortx~~ struggle for existance. It is this instinct which if given free opportunity for expression would lead to justice and iquality.

The theories of Zeno ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ in compressed form are, "If each individual will be free and have free use of ~~the~~ earth the ~~xxxxx~~ ~~state with its machinery of coercion will cease~~. When the strongest bond between man and woman will be love, the infringing and invasive interfernece of the state will cease. And when children will be permitted to grow up in nature ~~and learn from the~~

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with life itself as their teacher, the paralizing effect of ~~compulsory~~ state education as practiced by the state will also become useless. In other words, Zeno repudiated the autariterian institutions of his time, the state, private property, ~~the institution~~ marriage. He rose high above the worship of ~~the~~ Greek nationalism. ~~He aimed~~ for the universal brotherhood of man.

Zenos philosophy pushed in the background by Christianity in the third century was resurrected in the renaissance and contributed much to European culture. He may therefore be considered as the father of Anarchist thought, the first who formulated the basis principles of a non-governmental society.

Since Zeno Anarchist ideas runs like a red thread through every epoch bringing to the forfront some of the greatest minds who ~~[illegible]~~ opposed the state as a vicious institution. ~~The~~

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In the 12 century it was Karpocrates whose teaching had much of Anarchism. He said "just as the sun shines upon all human beings alike, so must society learn to make no distinctions. Nature treats all her beings iqually, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ There are no external laws to dictate that some creatures in nature must eat much, others little. Therefore we must free humanity from all external laws to make mankind iqual in the right to ~~xxxx~~ the enjoyment of life.

Karpocrates and his followers were perecuted savagely, but their ideas acted as ~~as xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ a strong impulse in the eternal struggle for freedom.

The Roman State and Papal dictatorship spread like a contagion over Europp supressing ~~every attempt for~~ ~~xxxx~~ the early stirrings of Anarchist ideas, but it was not for long. ~~xxxxxxx~~ Anarchism was revived in

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Soon three great minds helped to advance and to clarify the anti-state ideas, they were Etienn de la Boitie, Diderot and Sylvian Mechal.

Etienne de la Boitie was born in 1530 and died ~~xxx~~ thrity three years later. His work written at the age of eighteen proved so revolutionary that it could not be published during his life time. ~~Xxxxx~~ The Mss was left with de la Boities friend the philosopher ~~the~~ Mountaigne who had the work ~~Mss~~ published long after de la Boitie's death.

De la Boitie asks, "how does it happen that society, huges masses of people allow themselves to be enslaved by one man who is neither an Herculis or a Samson but usually inferior to the mass? Is it not ~~It is~~ because ~~he tells us~~ humanity has not yet learned that every tyrant is contrary to nature. Only by means of laws and punishement has he the power to ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ exact obidience and submissio

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Fourier was among the first to realize that the most deadning espect of our economic system is its effect upon spontanuity. "e insisted that if man ~~has~~ must work at the behest of others, under conditions he has no right to choose he can give nothing vital. So bad as exploitation is, ~~it is~~ indeed that yet it is ~~not~~ not so enervating and binding as the right of one indivual or a group of individuals over an other, to dictate the mode, the conditions and the quanity of work man must do.

Fourier wrote to the socialists of his time, "if your aim is only to put the working class in the place of the ~~capitalistic class of today~~ Capitalist ~~bourgeoisie~~ you will only create a new tyrr...y. Much more important is it to emancipate labour from the coercion and monotony that work ~~e~~mplys to day, or the right and power of any group to dictate the time place and conditions of work.

To save humantiy Fourier insisted "we must teach i it that brotherhood and iqually do not depend on legal

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When Stirner said "I have built my world on nothing he merely stressed the need of tearing ourselves loose from the worship of the golden calf, the cringing submission to the crushing material burdens which enslave us.

Quite independ of Nietzsche, Max Stirner fervently proclaimed the need of transvaluation of values since our values are so irrevocably ingrained in our social structure that no stone can be turned until we have ~~darax~~ ~~have~~ acquired the intellegence and the will to change our attitude towards them.

Stirner shocked his German readers not a little when in speaking of the morality of to day, he said "better a grisette than a maiden grown grey with virtue." He only meant so say that Christian virtue and morwlity have grown grey with age, have no vitality of life other than they recive from the power of the politi al and social factors which they help to ~~justify and~~ maintain. maintain."

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enactments or decrees, only common social interests and labour free from coercion will estebalish such economic and political conditions that will make harmony and welbeing possible.

It is science and not the party, the experiment and not force, the idealist and not the soldier who make for a new social order. Science ~~justified~~ accepted by reason and demonstrated by experience, ~~forms the~~ will form true politics ~~sharue~~ philosophy, and true religion of the future

The French bourgeoisie killed the anarchist Babeuf, ~~[illegible]~~ only to discover in Proudhon a more formidable foe. They ~~[illegible]~~ hence ~~opercecuted~~ and hounded him, threw him into prison but all in vain Proudhon came out more determined than ever to wage war upon the ~~sta~~ regime of the bourgeoisie.

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Max Stirner, the great German idol breaker hurled his anathemas against the institutions of his time In his ~~scourching~~ work The Ego and His Own" The ~~state~~ ~~morality~~ morality, the church, ~~and~~ property ~~are being stripped~~ of their veneer and pretense and exposed in all their sordid nakedness.

When Stirner said "I have built my world on nothing he merely stressed the need of tearing ourselves loose from the worship of the golden calf, the cringing submission to the crushing material burdens which enslave us.

Quite independ of Nietzsche, Max Stirner

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While the contribution to ~~libertarian thought~~ anarchism Proudhon on the part of Max Stirner and the other great individualist was of the utmost value they yet left a gap between the economic rights of the individual and the new ~~social~~ political ~~economic structure~~ structure. It became necessary to find the formula which would blend the two together. This formula, or link was thought to have been found in the collectivist theory whose foremost exponant was Micheal Bakunin.

Bakunin was the very incarnation of revolt, the stormy petrel of the 19 century. His brilliant and penetrating mind, ~~his terrfic energy~~ and his passionate love for suffering humanity made him turn from his own, aristocratic class. He became the clarion voice of the oppressed, the indefatigable exponant of Anarchism as ~~the only safe basis for a new~~ economic and social structure

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as the basis of a new social, political ~~from of~~ and economic ~~form of society~~ order. He was the rentlons spirit of his time, seeking alway to arouse the masses from their stupor and inaction. And always he was with them wherever and whenever they strove to articulate their crying needs ~~of leaving of their yoke~~.

After [illegible] experience Bakunin came to the definite conclusion that the [illegible] [illegible] economic and not by political acts [illegible] [illegible] whatever its pretense is removed from the economic life of the people, and only tends to exchange one form of political authority for another. Realizing this Bakunin was with the masses not merely in theory but in action He fought with them on every ~~barricade~~ barricade during fifty years of his life.

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And even before his death, his admonition to the workers was the need of organizing their economic strength. His testament to labour was

" by orgine, tradition and traning I came from the bourgeoisie ~~therefore I was natural to~~ and much as I wanted to serve the workers I was yet handicapped by the past. It is only now when within the shadow of death that I relaize that the help the masses one must live with them, share their daily struglle and inspire them to organize their solidarity and their economic strength. It is too late to change my tactics now, but I implore ~~conjure~~ you ~~markxrax~~ my brothers, organise, organize the International solidairity of labour. No matter how weak you are when you stand alone you will grow strong when you have ~~have~~ organized your combined strength, the great solidaric family of labour.

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Bakunin sponsored the ~~xxxxxxx~~ right of the workers to the fruit of his labour thus hoping to bring the individual in harmonious relation with society

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Bakunin believed implicitly in mass action, not merely for the great social changes to be brought about, but also in the regeneration of the complete life extending under freedom. He would have no truce with any state effort to either own, or control the means of production and distribution. To him it was of the utmost importance that the workers themselves collectively should be in possession of the resources of society, should regulate production, should decide the mode of distribution so that each member of society should receive the product of his labor as he, individually, and socially free to use that product as he sees fit. Bakunin A. [illegible] in the political [illegible] is considered [illegible]. This was a tremendous step towards the [illegible] of the individual and society.

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However, in the further process of Anarchist evolution it was discovered that to decide the value of each ones product it will be necessary to establish an adminastrative force which would soon deteriorate into a bureacratic regime and in turn become dangerous to the liberty of the individual.

This brought up a series of pressing questions, who should have the power to decide, the majority? or the minority?, and how can the value of one's labour be estimated in the interelation of modern production? These questions and problems were brilliantly answered and solved in the works of Peter Kropotkin.

Peter Kropotkin was not only an anarchist theoritian, but a great scientist and thinker besides being

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Kropotkin did more. In his great work "Mutual Aid" he demonstrates by ~~irrefutable scientific proof~~ that the element of mutual aid operates all through nature ~~and that it was this element which~~ Country to Darwin, Kropotkin pointed out that, in the struggle for existance, those species have survived who have practiced mutual aid. And it is mutual aid in human life, ~~plus the recognition of~~ which can be made ~~one~~ to become the constructive force in social relation between the unit and the aggregate. This form [illegible] in Anarchist Communism made workable through voluntary cooperation and [illegible] liberty.

Anarchist Communism has therefore emerged [illegible] t it [illegible] tes all human thought, [illegible] art. [illegible] ~~[illegible]~~ t in the newer psychologic

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study [illegible] individual [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of Gods and powers outside of himself.

neither is it of ancient times that man believed himself to be the ~~woner~~ owner of woman, or that parents thought it right and proper to dominate their children. But human thought is progressing by leaps and bounds. We have advanced out of the dominion of Gods and Kings over man, out of the ownership dominion of man over woman, out of the cruel dominion of parants over childred. In recent years we have even begun to see the right of small nations to dertemine their independence and life. ~~But~~ Yet ~~we~~ still cling to the superstition that the individual must be subordinated to ~~the~~ society. But thank to the ~~insessant~~ growth of Anarchist thought we are gradually devolop ing from thes antequated idea as we have emerged from many other slavish notions

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Masters on

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[redacted] DEATH

Karl Leibknecht in May, 1914, told the Reichstag the German armament industry had a working capital of 255,500,000 marks which would shortly be raised to 270,000,000 and the market value of its securities, thanks to a great boom in the war business, was 500,000,000 marks.

The chief elements in the armament business, he said, is the Krupp concern with Krupp the matador of the international industry, pre-eminent in every department.

Leibknecht, ~~perhaps~~ probably did not know at the time the whole intricate international organization that is trading in death. The disclosures of the ghastly business in the last few years have more than vindicated Leibknecht's charges. For Krupp, while only one of a vicious gang of munition conspirators, is even more powerful now than ~~he had been~~ in 1914.

Karl Leibknecht and Rosa Luxembourg were among the galaxy of heroic spirits in Germany who steadfastly refused to see in the world carnage anything but a ~~callous~~ unscrupulous competition of greed and avarice between the International traders in death. They were not alone . Every belligerent country had its spokesmen and

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women who saw through the flimsy veil of the patriotic sham, pretence and hypocrisy of the war mongers. Every country had its conscientious objectors who had endured the most fiendish torture and even death because they would not participate in the patriotic duty of slaughtering their fellow-man.

If the price paid for by the masses in every land had not been so high, we, who had ~~shouted~~ proclaimed the evils of war ~~from the very housetops~~ would have reasons to be satisfied. Fact is our prophecies look very pale in comparison with the actual results followed in the wake of the World Holocaust and its so-called peace. Alas, humanity learns slowly and forgets easily. For again we are deafened by the clamour for war and the air is ~~polluted~~ surcharged by all the mechanical devises that will make the next war more terrifying and destructive for every man, woman and child,, in every part on our planet.

Yet through all the travail and blood of the last twenty years something solitary has emerged. The realization of an ever larger number of thinking people that wars are planned, prepared and fostered by a handful of traders in death for no other reason

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than loot and conquest.

Though some of us had always maintained this, it needed the labors of fearless investigators to bring to the attention of the world the gigantic conspiracy to coin vast fortunes from torn limbs, shattered brains and rivers of blood of the hapless millions blindly serving the Moloch of war.

Of the most outstanding disclosures of the lucrative business of war "CRY HAVOC" by Beverley Nicholson (a Doubleday, Doran publication), ~~"MERCHANTS OF DEATH" by Engelbrecht and Hanighen~~, "THE SECRET INTERNATIONAL AND PATRIOTISM" issued by the Union of Democratic Control and more documented still "IRON, BLOOD AND PROFIT by George Seldes (a Harper publication), are written in letters of fire. They prove beyond a shadow of doubt the far reaching ~~devastating~~ influence the munition clique had in ~~the~~ past years and ~~until~~ has now on the making of wars. But if you have not read these books, the resume of the dastardly business contained in the article that appeared in "Fortune", a Wall Street paper, hence arms and the men

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eminently respectable, and the investigation of the munition profiteers ~~now going on~~ in Washington, should help to do away with the hollow phrase of "love of country, the sanctity of nationalism," and the pseudo-ethical indignation back of the demand for disarmament and the cry to "humanize" war.

Far be it for me to suggest that I have faith in government investigations. I have never yet known one that led to anything but dust thrown in the eyes of the public to blind them to the fact that every government is itself involved in the evil it investigates, or that it is ~~unwilling~~ willing to strike those responsible for the evil. It is well to remember, however, that governments proceed to investigate some social ill when its putrid state begins to smell to the very heavens.

The overwhelming data in the works I have already referred to have torn the glittering mantle from the diseased body of the armament racketeers that has its secret being in every land, poisoning, corrupting and disintegrating every channel of social life.

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Lest you think I am exaggerating, here is a partial list of the war gangsters Mr. Seldes has compiled in his works.

Krupp and Thyssen in Germany

Vickers and Armstrong in Britain

Schneider and De Wendell in France

Skoda in Chekoslavakia.

Terni and Ansaldo in Italy

On America Mellon Carnegie and Bethlehem and DuPont ~~in America, and~~ interests and Crucible Steel Co. and Electric Boat Co.

Mitsui in Japan.

Added are

The Harvey United Steel Company, Ltd.

The Nobel Dynamite Trust

The gunpowder cartel

The rifle cartel.

The ramifications of these leaders on death reach to the remotest part of the earth. Not a country but is the empty prey of these deadly dealers.

Who are these men engaged for welnigh a century in fermenting human slaughter?

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ALFRED KRUPP

Alfred Krupp cringed in the anterooms of every court for orders of his guns. At the end of his criminal career he had become the bosom friend of Wilhelm I. For it was Krupp's guns that had helped to conquer in the Prussian-Franco War.

Krupp's son, Friedrich Alfred, helped the house of his father to higher glories and to vaster fortunes except one, his good fairies had denied him an heir to the Krupp throne. "Noblesse oblige" Friedrich Alfred being the strongest pillar of Kaiser Wilhelm II dynasty, the Kaiser reciprocated in the capacity of matchmaker. He chose the husband for the rich but not too beautiful daughter, Bertha, of Pere Krupp. But as the Kaiser held that woman should serve him, the Kirche, and kinder, he could not permit Bertha to head the Krupp concern. He decreed that the husband should take the bride's name and that the house Krupp may not remain without a male guiding star, the Kaiser ordained that the husband perpetuate the glory that was Krupp.

"Fortune" tells us that, "in theory", Krupp smelts only peaceful ore, and forges its steels only into such benign shapes

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as locomotives, rails, bridge girders, and others purely indus-
vehicles
trial. Actually, Krupp is rearming Germany--the discoverable
portion of whose annual armament bill is now about $80,000,000.
Germany, forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles to import armaments,
via
receives generous supplies from Sweden and Holland; forbidden to
export armaments, she ships to South America, the Far East, or
a navy
to any European nation that will violate its own treaty by
ordering from her.

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ENGLAND'S VICKERS-ARMSTRONGS and allied companies in Mexico

The Empire within the British Empire, Vickers, Armstrong and ~~family~~. Co. We learn from the recent [illegible] that they are ~~Much larger fry is England, where the firm of Vickers-Armstrongs is~~ the brightest star in the armament ~~firmament.~~ The annual bills of Vickers-Armstrongs to nations for armaments purchased quite possible amount to $100,000,000. For England's powerful position as one of the greatest exporters of the materials of war in the world, the bulk of the credit goes to Vickers-Armstrongs. It makes other things than armaments, true enough; such unwarlike products as sewing machines and golf clubs come from some of its factories. The ~~Chairman~~ Directors, General the Hon. Sir Herbert Lawrence, has put himself on record as saying, "Vickers-Armstrongs, Ltd., relies very largely on armament orders for its existence." The Vickers research staffs work constantly to bring into mass production such bolsters to international comfort as the Vickers-Carden-Lloyd Light Amphibious Tank, or the Vickers Vildebeest Bombing Machine.

In Checboslavakia Vickers is closely allied with the munition concern Skoda. In Italy the name is changed to

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Sociata Vickers-Terni. In Japan Vickers has interests in the steel works, Japanese armament and industries, Matsui. Spain, Ireland, Holland ~~your own country, if you please~~, and Austria are seats of operation for the Vickers combine.

One of 11 Lundeen

The Chairman is Sir Andrew Noble whose pedigrees according to George Seldes are:

He is a baronet and a knight commander of the Bath of Great Britain, a member of the Order of Jesus Christ of Portugal, and a knight of the Order of Charles the Third of Spain. He is also a first class of the Sacred Treasure of Japan, a grand cross of the Crown of Italy, and is decorated with Turkish ~~and~~ Chilean and Brazilian honours. His patriotism has a strict cash basis. Messrs. Armstrong will build warships for any country in the world; they are quite impartial. They are constantly sending armour plate to all parts of the world, no matter what is the cause of the dispute. You will observe the double influence of these sales, for if they sell a battleship to a foreign country it becomes an argument for increasing the British fleet in turn, and that means a new increase of order for Armstrong.

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Whitworth & Co. Some of you have no doubt looked down, as I have, upon the chimneys of the Pozzuoli-Armstrong Co. which pollute the Bay of Naples. Here Great Britain helps to maintain the fighting force of Germany's ally.

Vickers directors are men of wide affairs.

1. Sir Herbert Lawrence, besides being a Director of the Bank of Rumania, is also a Director of the Sun Insurance Office, Ltd., with which Vickers-Armstrongs had a curious agreement that "if the profits (of Vickers) in any year during the five years ending December 31, 1932, do not amount to £900,000, then a contribution not exceeding £200,000 will be made in each year."

2. Sir Otto Niemeyer, the [illegible] who first entered His Majesty's Treasury at the age of twenty-three, is another Vickers Director; he is, in addition, an officer of the Bank of England, a Director of the Anglo-International Bank and the Bank of International Settlements.

Through these industrial and financial interlockings

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Vickers-Armstrongs conducts its affairs. They are profitable affairs--for as the agreement with Sun Insurance indicates, a profit of some $4,500,000 a year is considered so unsatisfactory that insurance must be carried against it. And England's aristocracy takes pleasure in clipping its coupons. Among the more prominent shareholders of Vickers or allied concerns in 1932 were: Rt. Hon. Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. P., winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1925. In 1914 the list was even more imposing. Few English men of public life seemed to see impropriety in talking peace while holding war for a raise--so that the list included Lord Balfour, Lord Curzon, and also Lord Kinnaird (President of the Y.M.C.A.), three bishops, and Dean Inge, of St. Paul's. It was in that same year that Socialist Philip Snowden spoke in Parliament: "It would be impossible to throw a stone on the benches opposite without hitting a Member who is a shareholder in one or other of these firms."

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Mr. Seldes gives a more elaborate list:

	Vickers Sons & Maxim	John Brown & Co.	Armstrong, Whitworth & Co.
Dukes.....	2	1	
Marquis.....	2		
Barons, lords, earls and families	50	10	60
Other nobility.....	20	7	35
Members Parliament.....	3	2	20
Army and navy officers...	21	2	20
Shipbuilders, government purveyors	2		
Financiers.....	3		1
Newspaper-owners and journalists	6	3	8

to be noticed no Marquis on Div

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SIR BASIL ZAHAROFF called "the man of Mystery."

He was an intimate of Lloyd George during the War; a few relatively mild revelations of the degree to which he influenced Great Britain's armament, military, and foreign policies during and after the War were enough, in 1922, to send Lloyd George, who did more than any other man to win the War, out of office. This strange character, the greatest armament salesman the world has ever known, struck a major spark in the world when he collided with an American of somewhat similar interests. Zaharoff at that time was a salesman for the Nordenfeldt Guns & Ammunition Co., Ltd. of England and had done very well in profits out of the perpetual dog fights in the Balkans and the Near East, to which he was usually purveyor and of which he was frequently (it was an easy trick once he learned it) instigator. The American that gladdened his heart was Hiram Maxim, whose new machine gun was incomparably the best killing machine Zaharoff had ever seen. Zaharoff took Maxim to his bosom, with reservations. First he used his polyglot salesmanship to block the gun's sale in Austria as an impractical toy; then, when he had offered Maxim a partnership and got the sale of the gun firmly in his own hands, he swept over

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Europe and Asia selling such quantities that soon the new firm of the Maxim-Nordenfeldt Guns & Ammunition Co. was purchased for some $6,000,000 (the year was 1897) by Vickers interests and became Vickers Sons & Maxim. Sir Basil was established now as a power in armament affairs, hence in Great Britain's affairs, hence in world affairs. He already enjoyed the distinction of having sold the first practical submarine ever used in naval operations to his native Greece, and the further distinction of having used this sale to frighten Turkey into buying two submarines. The Boer War added to his laurels; Boers shot Englishmen with Vickers guns and ammunition. The Russo-Japanese War provided him with an even wider field for his gifts; Vickers sold as much war material (and possibly more) to Russia as it did to Japan, England's supposed ally.

But, naturally, it was the World War that gratified Sir Basil most. The profits of War-time armament manufacture were practically incalculable; by the end of the War Sir Basil had a personal fortune that was estimated as low as $100,000,000 or $200,000,000 and as high as a billion. And in 1917, when there seemed a possibility of peace through the intervention of the U.S., Lord Bertie, British Ambassador to France, naively recorded in his diary: "Zaharoff is all for continuing the War jusqu'au bout."

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We now come to the French conferers of the unholy alliance, Charles Prosper Eugene Schneider, the executive head of hundreds of armament firms throughout Europe. He is the President of the Schneider-Creusot Company, armament manufacturers with mines, smelters, and foundries scattered throughout France. He is Director of the Banque de l'Union Parisienne, one of whose most profitable sources of business is the financing of loans for armaments. In 1920 he founded and became the President of the Union Europeenne Industriale et Financiere--a holding company, capitalized at 140,000,000 francs. Through it Schneider-Creusot controls 182 French companies that manufacture heavy ordnance, machine guns, tanks, shells, ammunition, and warfare chemicals. Out of the $300,000,000 which, at the most conservative guess, represents the annual billing of France's armament concerns, Schneider-Creusot or subsidiaries takes the lion's share.

SKODA

The Union Europeenne has a more important function. Through it, Schneider-Creusot reaches out to control 230 armament and allied enterprises outside France. The greatest of these concerns

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is SKODA.

While its main works are in Brno (which was once an Austrian territory), its factories are scattered not only over Czechoslovakia but over Poland and Rumania as well. Upon the board of Skoda, which the Union Europeenne controls through 56 per cent. of its stock, M. Schneider sits with his friend Andre Vicaire, Director General of Schneider-Creusot; his brother-in-law, Arnaud de Saint-Sauver.

You know the old saying of all worshippers of mammon "money does not smell". Certainly President Masyneck the "Liberal and College professor" must believe in this. For he was not adverse to holding shares to the benefits derived from the Schneider-Skoda humanitarian association. Neither did Eduard Benes, Czechoslavakian minister of Foreign Affairs. This gentleman was always profuse in his allegiance to the League of Nations that misfit borne out of the diseased body of the War.

Others interested in Skoda are two Czecko-Germans, Van Dutchnitz and Van Arthaber. Both became very generous financial backers of

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Hitler's campaign. Thanks to the careful manipulation of Skoda and the smaller Checkoslavakian concerns munitions to the extent of $30,000,000 a year are exported from that country.

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Far outstripping the previous Christian and patriotic gentlemen of the armament ring is the French iron and steel manufacturers; The Comitte des Forges. It [redacted].

Two hundred and fifty companies--mines, smelters, metallurgical establishments, foundries--make up its membership, and of these 250 companies, over 150 are armament concerns. The nominal capital stock of the member companies of the Comite totals some 7,500,000,000 francs, yet some accountants have placed the figure for a true valuation as high as 40,000,000,000 francs. The chief officer of the Comite, de Fatye, the President, is Francois de Wendell. He derives his power not only from being President of the Comite but as one of the principal owners of his own iron and steel concerns. Beneath him and his administrative board on the Comite there are six regional committees: The Loire, Nord, l'Est, Miniers d'Alsace-Lorraine, Forges de Lorraine, and Champagne.

Francois de Wendell is a regular Dr. Jeckyl and Mr. Hyde. If as President of the Comite des Forges he is confronted with some financial difficulties he can consult Francois de Wendell, Regent

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of the Banque de France. If he must have political help, he has but to turn to Francois de Wendell, member of the Chamber of Deputies for Meurthe-et-Moselle. Should he need some publicity, he need only to whisper in the ears of Francois de Wendell who owns a majority interest in the "Jour des Debats" one of the most powerful French newspapers, or any other daily such as Le Temps, the Journal Industrielle, Le Matin, and L'Echo de Paris all of whom M. Francois de Wendell heads.

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THE BRIEY BASIN

The ramifications of the European armament clique and its power were best demonstrated in the gentleman's agreement that to prolonged the agony of the war and cost millions of lives. The details of the criminal bargain have been described in full by all the recent writers of the blood-stained International munition clique ~~manufacturers~~.

"Before 1914 the great iron mines and smelters in the Briey basin provided 70 per cent. of the ore used by France. The German advance wrested them from the political control of France--and quite naturally the German artillery chiefs saw to it that the mines were so protected from shell fire that they could be taken over intact. Thenceforth the mines of the Briey basin were operated for the benefit of Germany--in association with other mines in Lorraine which had been in German hands since 1871 they supplied Germany with ~~some~~ three-quarters of the ore she consumed during the War.

"In 1916, ~~some two years later~~, the Briey basin came once again within the potential grasp of the French. Throughout the second battle of Verdun, Briey was within range of the operations of the French Second Army. The Briey mines and smelters were turning out

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tons of raw materials per day which were being continuously turned into weapons of death against French troops, and the naive civilian would therefore suppose that the French Second Army would now turn loose its bombing planes and blast out of existence a principal source of enemy supply.

The explanation that emerged from headquarters stated that if Briey were bombarded, the Germans, in reprisal, would turn their guns on Dombasle in Meurthe-et-Moselle, where equally large-scale mining operations were supplying the French with much of their own raw material for ordnance and ammunition, so long as the French left Briey alone the Germans would leave Dombasle alone

In corroboration there is ~~spread upon the records~~ the testimony of Deputy Pierre Etienne Flandin (~~scarcely~~ hardly a flaming ~~Bolshevist~~ Nazafest, for he was later Finance Minister under Tardieu) to the effect that he, an artillery officer during the War, knew of his own knowledge that the artillery of the French Second Army had been expressly forbidden to bombard Briey when the chance existed, and when a ten-mile penetration of the sector would have come close to spelling

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German ruin. ~~And the statement of his colleague~~, Deputy Barthe, in the Chamber on January 24, 1919, ~~lost little of its significance~~ emphasized this fact in the long, loud, vicious ~~debates~~ and investigations which followed it: "I affirm that either by the fact of the international solidarity of the great metallurgy companies, or in order to safeguard private business interests, our military chiefs were ordered not to bombard the establishments of Briey basin, which were being exploited by the enemy during the War. I affirm that our aviation service received instructions to respect the blast furnaces in which the enemy steel was being made, and that a general who wished to bombard them was reprimanded."

Bear in mind that

Everyone who dared to oppose the war had been decreed as traitor to their country, persecuted, hounded, robbed of home and hearth and many shot.

The real traitors were not only not touched but aided and abetted by their respective governments to fortune and honors.

Frankly, I consider gangsters like Capone, Diamond, Dillinger and even baby kidnappers humane compared with the Krupps, Schneiders,

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de Wendell and the rest.

Do not console yourself with the hope that the European way racketeers are the only traders in death. "Fortune" points ~~out that~~ America has her own Krupps, Schneider and de Wendell. We have our du Ponts, who at least "own" the state of Delaware. We have an Army and Navy whose officers, according to the statement of a former Cabinet officer, are far and away more active than the officers of any other armed forces in the world against any sort of international understanding. We have an armament bill of over $200,000,000 a year. We once had our Big Bass Drum, Mr. William B. Shearer, whose boast was that he wrecked the Naval Conference at Geneva in 1927. ~~We have~~ our Midvale Co. (controlled by the Baldwin Locomotive Works) which prospered mightily during the War and has continued the manufacture of guns and gun forgings, armor plate and projectiles; ~~our~~ Colt's Patent Firearms Mfg. Co. which supplies machine guns as well as squirrel rifles, which declared an extra dividend in 1933; our Remington Arms Co. (controlled by du Pont) whose output of firearms and ammunition together is

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one-third of U.S. production. And we have our Bethlehem Steel Co. and other Cleveland Steel Co.

~~Bethlehem~~'s Mr. Charles M. Schwab dismayed the cadets of West President of the Bethlehem Co

Point in 1927 by saying: "Today the Bethlehem Steel Company has definitely abandoned any thought of ever again engaging in the manufacture of ordnance except in times of great national emergency." Such times are apparently with us now--have, in fact, been continually with us since Mr. Schwab unloosed this shaft of oratory. (In the official listing of Bethlehem's products (you need only turn to Standard Statistics or Bethlehem's own most recent annual report) you will find armor plate, projectiles, gun and shell forgings, battleships, battle cruisers, scout cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and airplane carriers all listed as products of Bethlehem's plants. The site at Bethlehem where cannon and armor plate are made is separate from the rest of the plant. No outsiders are allowed, and it may be that Mr. Schwab has never been able to evade the vigilance of his watchmen. But if he could once get inside he would see a triumph of inventiveness--for Bethlehem not only makes "armor-piercing" projectiles, but "non-pierceable" armor plate--which must sometimes cause slight confusion on the proving ground when anyone attempts to demonstrate the virtues of both at the same

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time.

IRON, BLOOD AND PROFITS fully corroborates that and also shows how the deals are transacted.

The Du Ponts have been in an agreement with a German firm--the United Rhenisch Westphalian Gunpowder Mills--to keep it informed of all improvements in the processes of powder-making.

"Here is the actual wording of the contract:

"Tenth. That any and every improvement upon said processes of either of them made by either of the parties hereto at any time hereafter shall forthwith be imparted to the other of the parties hereto.'

"And even this is not all. The DuPonts agreed to keep the German concern informed at all times of all powder furnished to the United States Government, stating in detail its quality and characteristics, and even the quantity, making themselves, to all practical ends, paid informers of a foreign Government.

"Here is the exact language:

"'Thirteenth, That the parties of the second part (the DuPonts) will, as soon as possible, inform the party of the first part (the German concern) of each and every contract for brown powder or nitrate of ammonia powder received by the parties of the second

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part from the Government of the United States, or any other contracting party or parties, stating in detail quantity, price, time of delivery, and all of the requirements that the powder called for in such contract has to fulfill.'"

Americans are proverbially open-handed. Especially when it is in recognition for valuable services rendered. Shearer, the all around handy agent of the American munition Lords is a case in point.

Shearer, who is a former employee of the Navy Department, and who claimed than in 1924 a group of naval officers, including four rear-admirals, hired him to campaign for a big navy and more bases, admitted being active in Washington for several years before going to Geneva in 1926 to reconnoitre. In 1927 he went there again, this time paid "observer" of the American shipbuilders, "to see that the United States got a square deal in publicity."

In the British press Shearer was immediately accused of propaganda work, but with the exception of such newspapers as the New York World, the Baltimore Sun, the Christian Science Monitor, the St. Louis Post Dispatch and the other liberal

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American journals, no mention was made of the armament agent by the correspondents in Geneva who were publishing his "handouts." Throughout Europe the rumour spread that Shearer had smashed the conference, but America was almost ignorant of the matter, and it might have remained so had not Shearer in 1929, his work well done, sued for the money he said the armament-makers still owed him.

He asked the courts to award him $255,655. From the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation, the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co. and the American Brown Boveri Electric Corporation he had received a meagre $51,230 for his work as "observer." Thus the scandal was brought to light by a lawsuit, as so many previous armament scandals had been.

Shearer, ha~~hearty, and pugnacious~~, began his statement by saying that Charles M. Schwab was the first representative of the shipbuilders with whom he talked. His first contract, he said, was for $7,500 to cover the Sixty-ninth Congress, the three-cruiser-bill Congress. When he went to Geneva he took letters from "practically every patriotic society in the United States who endorsed my stand .... The Native Sons of California, the Daughters of the American Revolution and the National Security League.

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His first contact with the press was during the Red-baiting 1920's. "I was asked or I was approached by a man you all have heard of in his fight against the communists. He was then editor of the New York Commercial, a man by the name of Major Charles, of Military Intelligence, and incidentally the executive secretary of the American Defense Society...."

Just as he was about to sail for Geneva, he received a blue book of "facts" in a franked envelope from the United States Navy Department. Arriving in Paris, he went to see the newspaper correspondents with whom he was to work in Geneva. As proof of his work he presented letters of thanks from them. His credentials as a journalist were furnished by Mr. Henry Wales of the Chicago Tribune. Armed with a press card which made him representative of the New York Daily News, he was able to enter the press galleries, confer with the journalists, and attend the press receptions given by Ambassador Gibson and the naval delegation.

Returning to America, he testified, "my publicity campaign continued in the Hearst papers, Washington Post, journals and weeklies.....I have advised certain patriotic societies in their campaign against the pacifists." He claimed he had been speaker

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and adviser for years for the National Security League, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the American Legion, the American Defense Society, the National Committee of Defense.

For organizing the patriotic societies for Hearst he received $2,000 a week. The object was to attack the League of Nations and the World Court.

Patriotism had triumphed and the best part of $740,000,000 from government appropriations were on their way to the private armament-makers.

The Washington disclosures fully sustain Mr. Seldes. Here is the account in the Nation of Sept. 26th, in case you failed to read your own newspapers or the good old conservative New York Times.

On the witness stand, before the Senate committee investigating the sale of munitions, the four du Ponts, members of the firm of E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, testified that their business in the war years of 1917-18 paid an average dividend on common stock of 49 per cent. The total gross sales from 1915 through 1918 were $1,245,000,000. Profits on this sum amounted to

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$250,000,000. Irenee du Pont, doubtless speaking also for his two brothers and his cousin, expressed himself in most forcible language as of the opinion that the munitions industry should remain in private hands. Mr. DuPont does not, understandably enough, wish to inconvenience the goose that lays golden eggs in such large quantities. On the witness stand also, Colonel William N. Taylor, European representative for the du Pont Company, was disclosed as the author of a letter to his home office which contained a pretty bit of prophecy. He wrote on January 18, 1933: "There seems to be the beginning of a decided increase of activity in the ammunition business in Europe. The immediate cause of excitement is the possibility of revolution of the Croats in Serbia, which, if it takes place, will cause considerable trouble."

Business, in other words, was looking up. And the du Ponts, the Curtiss-Wrights, the manufacturers of poison gas and guns and bombs and all the rest were on the job. They were ready with bribes ("palm oil," "grease," "take care of," "fix," were some of the elegant circumlocutions to avoid the short and ugly word), they jumped in on both sides of a controversy (both Bolivia and Paraguay were customers of Curtiss-Wright), treaties and agreements

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between nations were scraps of paper to them (there were numerous efforts to sell to the countries involved in the Chaco dispute although the United States embargo on the sale of arms to the Chaco was in effect, and the du Ponts were aware that arms they sold and sent to Holland were designed for Germany in contravention of the Treaty of Versailles). In short, the disclosures which Senator Nye's committee is bringing forth every day make it perfectly clear that not only is the arms business a menace to peace of the world but it is a dirty business in itself. Fortunately it is not necessary to find words to characterize it further.

The words have been pungently supplied by one of its employees. In a letter to Owen Shannon of the Curtiss-Wright Company, dated December 27, 1933, Frank Sheridan Jonas, representing the Remington Arms Company and Federal Laboratories in South America, described the business in which he and his associates were engaged in the following terms:

"The Paraguay and Bolivia fracas appears to be coming to a termination, so business from this end is probably finished. We certainly are in one hell of a business, where a fellow has to wish for trouble so as to make a living, the only consolation

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being, however, that if we don't get the business someone else will. It would be a terrible state of affairs if my conscience started to bother me now."

Lure Standard

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Already in 1921 the League of Nations Commission declared that wars "are promoted by the competitive zeal of private armament firms." The report further states that armament firms have through international rings caused the armament races which they knew would lead to war, that they fomented war scares, intrigued in national and international politics, urged nations to adopt more militaristic programs which would obviously provoke wars, etc.

But unfortunately one half of the League members did not see what the other half was doing. It talked and talked while the armament-makers of the United States, France, Britain, and Japan are largely responsible for the twenty years of civil war in China. Krupps, Vickers, Schneider officials and representatives of the American airplane, powder, and rifle companies have armed The Chinese war lords. At times they have accepted payment based on the looting of cities and the necessary slaughter. The mercenary armies of China have been raised by financial backers in

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Hong-Kong, Paris, London, New York, and Yokohama, and even Moscow has taken a hand in arming and supporting the Communist faction, while Japan, after selling a large part of the arms which provoked the rebellions, which in turn caused chaos, used chaos as an excuse for its invasions and annexations.

The gun-makers are not in business for their health; the healthfulness of their business depends on slaughter, ~~and business is business~~. The more wars the richer the profits. (~~How~~ They helped cause the World War and made vast profits out of the death of 20 million injured of 10,000,000, young men and a material loss of $337,000,000,000, ~~how~~ During the war itself they continued to do business as usual, ~~and how they~~ They have allied themselves since the war to do business in smaller wars and prepare for the great profits of the next world war.

Important

The traders in death evidently agree with Dr. Johnson's idea of patriotism as the ~~m~~ last result of scoundrels. This fact is illuminated by the part the international gun~~yard~~ makers have played in Hitler's march to supremacy.

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In Germany the greatest steel company is the Vereinigte Stahlwerke A.G. and for its head it has Fritz Thyssen, king of the Ruhr. It was Thyssen who was Hitler's angel; who, as one move in a battle to retain control of his industrial affairs (dealt a desperate blow by Germany's banking crisis of 1931), began pouring money into the treasury of the Nazis to assure to himself the help of a friendly government. In 1932 old Fritz Thyssen capped many previous generosities with a single contribution of 3,000,000 marks for the German presidential campaign. But old Fritz, despite his personally violent nationalism, was not at all hostile to the de Wendel-Schneider interests in France. He favored, in fact, a working compact with them so long as he could retain unhampered control of his own properties. We see, then, the spectacle of a Nazi supporter on the one hand breathing fire against France, and on the other sitting down on terms of thorough understanding with the principal armament firm that represented the implacable political enemy of his country.

But that does not complete the picture. The Comite des Forges and Schneider-Creusot were not at all unwilling to see Hitler gain ascendancy in Germany. In 1933 Hitler sued a German journalist for

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having made the statement that Skoda (and, through Skoda, Schneider-Creuzot) had contributed to his campaign expenses. When, however, he was challenged to make a direct denial that this was so, he stormed from the witness stand, cursed the opposing lawyer for a Jew, never specifically answered the question, and was subsequently fined 1,000 marks for contempt of court as a result. De Wendel and Schneider, according to their immemorial custom, said nothing, and nowhere has a denial of the accusation ever been made.

America could not lag behind in the worthy task of backing national socialism. Thus it came about that American bankers' ~~gold~~ no less than the guns of the benefactors in Europe helped to enslave sixty-five million people.

Business is business wrote ~~M~~ Hurlecan, the Anarchist, in his play by that name. Except that the munition gangsters are shrewder than their colleagues in other capitalist ventures. They are merely doing what ~~everyone else is~~ the rest of the capitalist learned lawyers are doing, if with smaller returns.

Yes, say the upholders of the state in whatever form ~~of every political opinion~~, that's why we want the government to nationalize the

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manufacture of war supplies. Then what? Will the reasons for war cease? And what about the national bug, more poisonous since Europe has been chopped up into so many small nations, each one ready to spring at the throat of the other? Here we come to the crux of the whole question--nationalism. Its quest for aggrandisement and its will to power. They are as much the conditioning factors of war as the traders in death. Yet, even the most enlightened abborers of human slaughter are overruled by national sentimentalism. True, they wax hot against war during peace time, but they invariably collapse at the first sign of hostilities. With few exceptions, this happened in the last war. Pacifists, Socialists and even some Anarchists forgot all their ~~peace-time protestations~~ social political principles. They went over the top with the rest of the chauvinists. They had a rude awakening and with them tens of thousands in every land. However, the feeling against war has increased. Ever larger numbers are awakening to the menace threatening the world. Twenty thousand ~~ministers~~ clergymen alone have definitely come out against war, large student bodies and men and women of every layer in society. That is encouraging, indeed. It only remains to be seen what they will do in the next war.

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or alliance but U S or Russia

For instance, a war against Germany. Already voices are heard that this would be a holy war which everybody must support. I venture to predict that the entire Jewry will enlist, as well as Socialists and Radicals. Why not, if so distinguished a man as Prof. Einstein could have a change of heart, why not everybody else?

On Aug. 20th 1931 Prof. Einstein sent the following message to the International War Resisters Conference:

"All the nations of the world are talking about disarmament. You must lead them to do more than talk. The people must take this matter out of the hands of statesmen and diplomats. They must grip it in their own hands.

Those who think that the danger of War is past are living in a fool's paradise. We have today to face a militarism far more powerful and destructive than the militarism which brought the disaster of the Great War.

You must call upon the workers of all countries unitedly to refuse to become the tools of death-dealing interests. There are young men in twelve countries who are resisting conscription by refusal to do military service. They are the pioneers of a warless world. Every sincere friend of peace must support them, and help

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to arouse the moral conviction of the world against conscription.

I appeal especially to the intellectuals of the world. I appeal to my fellow-scientists to refuse to co-operate in research, for war purposes. I appeal to the preachers to seek truth, and to renounce national prejudices. I appeal to the men of letters to declare themselves unequivocally. I ask every newspaper which prides itself on supporting peace to encourage the peoples to refuse war service. I ask editors to challenge men of eminence and of influence by asking them bluntly, "Where do you stand? Must you wait for everyone else to disarm before you put down your weapons and hold out the hand of friendship?"

This is no time for temporizing. You are either for war or against war. If you are for war, you must encourage science, finance, industry, religion, and labor, to exert their power to make your national armaments as efficient and deadly as they can be made. If you are against war, you must encourage them to resist it to the uttermost. I ask everyone who reads these words to make this great and definite decision.

Let this generation take the greatest step forward ever made in the life of man. Let it contribute to those who follow, the

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inestimable sight of a world in which the barbarity of war has been forever renounced. We can do it if we will. It requires only that all who hate war shall have the courage to say that they will not have war!

I appeal to all men and women, whether they be eminent or humble, to declare, before the World Disarmament Conference meeting at Geneva, that they will refuse to give any further assistance to war or to the preparations for war.

Letter Alfred Nahan Sept 1933

And what is his attitude now. The ~~cabled version of the letter is as follows:~~ according to his letter to Alfred Nahan, Bucharest

Einstein wrote: You will be very astonished at what I am going to tell you (Prof. Einstein wrote). Only a short time ago we could hope to fight militarism in Europe successfully by individual refusals to do service. But today we are in the presence of altogether different circumstances. There is in the center of Europe a state (Germany) which is publicly preparing for war by all means.

In these conditions the Latin countries, above all France and Belgium, are in great danger and can only count on their preparedness.

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As far as Belgium is concerned it is obvious that this little country will not make abusive use of its preparation and that it has the greatest need to safeguard its existence.

Imagine Belgium occupied by present-day Germany! It would undoubtedly be worse than in 1914, even though occupation at that time was terrible. That is why I am telling you in the most direct fashion that if I were a Belgian I would not refuse to do military service under the present circumstances, but on the contrary I would accept it in full conscience with the feeling that I was contributing to save European civilization.

This does not mean I am renouncing my former opinion. I desire nothing more than to see the moment ~~x~~ return when refusal to do military service could be the means of an efficacious fight for the progress of humanity. No time up the as in 1914 [illegible] down [illegible]

I sympathize with Prof. Einstein's concern in the Belgian people. But what about the sixty-million Germans? Now, a great mathematician need not also be a clear-thinking sociologist. Still, Prof. Einstein knows that they and not Hitler and his murderous crew will pay the price. And so will the people of all

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countries, not only the adult population, combatants and civilians but even little children are to help in the general carnage. Already Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler have ordered them drilled and their sweet, innocent spirits poisoned and darkened by hate.

In the face of such an outrage on child life, in the face of the impending sacrifice of the youth of each country, indeed of our entire civilization, it is more than ever necessary to stand out firmly and unflinchingly against war, which as I have shown you tonight has, is, and will be only for the benefit of the salesmen in blood, death and destruction.

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TRADERS IN DEATH

outstanding

THE ~~ONE~~ MAN IN GERMANY WHO UNDERSTOOD THE FORCES THAT WERE RUSHING THE COUNTRY INTO THE VORTEX OF WAR WAS CARL LIEBKNECHT. ALREADY IN MAY 1914 HE THUNDERED IN THE REICHSTAG THAT THE COMBINE MOST INTERESTED IN THE PROMOTION OF WAR WAS THE KRUPP CONCERN -- THE LARGEST ARMAMENT INDUSTRY IN GERMANY. HE GAVE INCONTESTABLE PROOF THAT THESE TRADERS IN DEATH WERE AFFILIATED WITH SIMILAR GANGS IN EVERY CIVILIZED COUNTRY.

CARL LIEBKNECHT AND ROSA LUXEMBURG WERE BY NO MEANS ALONE ~~IN GERMANY~~ WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES TO SAVE ~~THEIR COUNTRY~~ Germany FROM THE DISASTER OF WAR and rea Dean EVERY COUNTRY HAD ITS HEROIC MEN AND Dean s. Uhkel WOMEN WHO BEFORE AND DURING THE WORLD CARNAGE SAW CLEARLY THAT NO ETHICAL OR HUMANE PRINCIPLES WERE INVOLVED IN THE WAR. THAT ALL WARS ARE FOR CONQUEST AND LOOT -- THAT FAR FROM SETTLING ANYTHING WARS BRING GREATER EVILS IN THEIR WAKE THAN THOSE THEY COME TO DESTROY.

IF THE PRICE PAID ~~FOR~~ BY THE MASSES IN EVERY LAND HAD NOT BEEN SO HIGH, WE, WHO HAD SHOUTED THE EVILS OF WAR FROM THE VERY HOUSETOPS WOULD HAVE REASONS TO BE SATISFIED. FACT IS OUR PROPHECIES LOOK VERY PALE IN COMPARISON WITH THE

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ACTUAL RESULTS ~~FOLLOWING THE~~ WAKE OF THE WORLD HOLOCAUST AND ITS SO-CALLED PEACE. ALAS, HUMANITY LEARNS SLOWLY AND FORGETS EASILY. FOR AGAIN WE ARE DEAFENED BY THE CLAMOUR FOR WAR AND THE AIR IS POLLUTED BY VARIOUS POISONOUS DEVISES THAT WILL MAKE THE NEXT WAR MORE TERRIFYING AND DESTRUCTIVE FOR EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD IN EVERY PART ON OUR PLANET.

~~THOUGH~~ SOME OF US HAD ALWAYS MAINTAINED ~~THIS~~, IT NEEDED ~~THE~~ LABORS OF FEARLESS INVESTIGATORS, ~~TO BRING~~ TO THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD, THE GIGANTIC CONSPIRACY TO COIN VAST FORTUNES FROM TORN LIMBS, SHATTERED BRAINS AND RIVERS OF BLOOD OF THE HAPLESS MILLIONS BLINDLY SERVING THE MOLOCH OF WAR.

OF THE MOST OUTSTANDING DISCLOSURES OF THE LUCRATIVE BUSINESS OF WAR "CRY HAVOC" BY BEVERLEY NICHOLS (A DOUBLEDAY, DORAN PUBLICATION), "MERCHANTS OF DEATH" BY ~~ENGELBRECHT~~ AND ~~HANIGHAN~~, "THE SECRET INTERNATIONAL AND PATRIOTISM" ISSUED BY THE UNION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL AND MORE DOCUMENTED STILL "IRON, BLOOD AND PROFIT" BY GEORGE SELDES (A HARPER PUBLICATION), ARE WRITTEN IN LETTERS OF FIRE. THEY PROVE BEYOND A SHADOW

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OF DOUBT THE DEVASTATING INFLUENCE THE MUNITION CLIQUE HAD IN THE PAST, AND HAS NOW ON THE MAKING OF WARS.

~~BUT IF YOU HAVE NOT READ THESE BOOKS~~, THE RESUME OF THE DASTARDLY ~~BUSINESS~~ trade CONTAINED IN THE ARTICLE THAT APPEARED IN "FORTUNE", A WALL STREET PAPER, HENCE EMINENTLY RESPECTABLE, AND THE INVESTIGATION OF THE MUNITION PROFITEERS ~~NOW GOING ON IN WASHINGTON~~ Congressional in nature and consequently perpetuates relief, SHOULD HELP TO DO AWAY WITH THE ~~HOLLOW~~ ~~PHRASE~~ slogan OF "LOVE OF COUNTRY, THE SANCTITY OF NATIONALISM," AND THE PSEUDO-ETHICAL INDIGNATION BACK OF THE DEMAND FOR DISARMAMENT ~~AND~~ or THE CRY TO "HUMANIZE" WAR.

FAR BE IT FOR ME TO give the impression ~~SUGGEST~~ THAT I HAVE FAITH IN GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATIONS. I HAVE NEVER YET KNOWN ONE THAT LED TO ANYTHING BUT DUST THROWN IN THE EYES OF THE ~~PUBLIC~~ masses TO BLIND THEM TO THE FACT THAT EVERY GOVERNMENT IS ITSELF INVOLVED IN THE EVIL IT INVESTIGATES, OR THAT IT IS ~~UNWILLING~~ TO STRIKE THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EVIL. IT IS WELL TO REMEMBER, HOWEVER, THAT GOVERNMENTS PROCEED TO INVESTIGATE SOME SOCIAL ILL WHEN ITS poison ~~PUTRID~~ STATE ~~BEGINS TO SPREAD~~ threatens to spread has already infected our local or political life.

Repeated in Mexico called down on Mex

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THE OVERWHELMING DATA IN THE WORKS I HAVE ALREADY REFERRED TO HAVE TORN THE GLITTERING MANTLE FROM THE DISEASED BODY OF THE ARMAMENT RACKETEERS THAT HAS ITS SECRET BEING IN EVERY COUNTRY ~~LAND~~, ~~POLLUTING~~, CORRUPTING AND DISINTEGRATING EVERY CHANNEL OF SOCIAL LIFE.

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ALFRED KRUPP

ALFRED KRUPP CRINGED IN THE ANTEROOMS OF EVERY COURT FOR ORDERS OF HIS GUNS. AT THE END OF HIS [redacted] CAREER HE HAD BECOME THE BOSOM FRIEND OF WILHELM I. ~~FOR IT WAS~~ KRUPP'S GUNS ~~THAT HAD HELPED TO~~ CONQUER IN THE PRUSSIAN-FRANCO WAR.

KRUPP'S SON, FRIEDRICH ALFRED, HELPED THE HOUSE OF HIS FATHER TO HIGHER GLORIES AND TO VASTER FORTUNES EXCEPT ONE, HIS GOOD FAIRIES HAD DENIED HIM AN HEIR TO THE KRUPP THRONE.

"NOBLESSE [redacted] FRIEDRICH ALFRED BEING THE STRONGEST PILLAR OF KAISER [redacted], THE KAISER RECIPROCATED IN THE CAPACITY OF MATCHMAKER. HE CHOSE THE HUSBAND FOR THE RICH BUT NOT TOO BEAUTIFUL DAUGHTER, BERTHA, OF PERE KRUPP. BUT AS THE KAISER HELD THAT WOMAN SHOULD SERVE HIM, THE KIRCHE, AND KINDER, HE COULD NOT PERMIT BERTHA TO HEAD THE KRUPP ~~CONCERN~~. HE DECREED THAT THE HUSBAND SHOULD TAKE THE BRIDE'S NAME ~~AND THAT THE HOUSE KRUPP MAY NOT REMAIN WITHOUT A MALE GUIDING~~ STAR, THE KAISER ~~ORDAINED THAT~~ THE HUSBAND PERPETUATE THE GLORY THAT ~~WAS~~ KRUPP.

"IN THEORY," KRUPP SMELTS ONLY PEACEFUL ORE, AND FORGES ITS STEELS ONLY INTO SUCH ~~BENIGN~~ SHAPES AS LOCOMOTIVES, RAILS,

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BRIDGE GIRDERS, AND OTHERS PURELY INDUSTRIAL. ACTUALLY, KRUPP IS REARMING GERMANY -- THE DISCOVERABLE PORTION OF WHOSE ANNUAL ARMAMENT BILL IS NOW ABOUT $80,000,000. GERMANY, FORBIDDEN BY THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES TO IMPORT ARMAMENTS, RECEIVES GENEROUS SUPPLIES FROM SWEDEN AND HOLLAND; FORBIDDEN TO EXPORT ARMAMENTS, SHE SHIPS TO SOUTH AMERICA, THE FAR EAST, OR ~~TO ANY EUROPEAN NATION BY WHICH IT WILL VIOLATE ITS OWN TREATY BY ORDERING FROM HER.~~

supply

and sent to Italy

expelled from Holland

Adolf Hitler Chancellor of Germany

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11

Dear Munition Lords

ENGLAND'S VICKERS-ARMSTRONGS

OF WIDER RAMIFICATION IS THE FIRM OF VICKERS-ARMSTRONGS.

THE ANNUAL BILLS OF VICKERS-ARMSTRONGS TO NATIONS FOR ARMAMENTS PURCHASED QUITE POSSIBLY AMOUNT TO $100,000,000. FOR ENGLAND'S POWERFUL POSITION AS ONE OF THE GREATEST EXPORTERS OF THE MATERIALS OF WAR IN THE WORLD, THE BULK OF THE credit GOES TO Mr-Cancellor ~~VICKERS-ARMSTRONGS~~. ~~IT~~ MAKES OTHER THINGS THAN ARMAMENTS, TRUE ENOUGH; SUCH UNWARLIKE PRODUCTS AS SEWING MACHINES AND GOLF CLUBS COME FROM SOME OF ITS FACTORIES.

But

THE VICKERS RESEARCH STAFFS WORK CONSTANTLY TO BRING INTO MASS PRODUCTION SUCH BOLSTERS TO INTERNATIONAL COMFORT AS THE VICKERS-CARDEN-LLOYD LIGHT AMPHIBIOUS TANK, ~~OR~~ and THE VICKERS VILDEBEEST BOMBING MACHINE.

IN CHECHOSLAVAKIA VICKERS IS CLOSELY ALLIED WITH THE MUNITION CONCERN SKODA. IN ITALY THE NAME IS CHANGED TO SOCIATA VICKERS-TERNI. IN JAPAN VICKERS HAS INTERESTS IN THE STEEL WORKS, JAPANESE ARMAMENT AND INDUSTRIES, MATSUI. SPAIN, IRELAND, HOLLAND, ~~AND YOUR OWN COUNTRY, IF YOU PLEASE,~~ Australia & Canada ~~AND AUSTRIA~~ ARE SEATS OF OPERATION FOR THE VICKERS COMBINE.

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ACCORDING TO MR. SELDES THE CHAIRMAN IS SIR ANDREW NOBLE WHO HAS MANY PEDIGREES:

HE IS A BARONET AND A KNIGHT COMMANDER OF THE BATH OF GREAT BRITAIN, A MEMBER OF THE ORDER OF JESUS CHRIST OF PORTUGAL, AND A KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF CHARLES THE THIRD OF SPAIN. HE IS ALSO A FIRST CLASS OF THE SACRED TREASURE OF JAPAN, A GRAND CROSS OF THE CROWN OF ITALY, AND IS DECORATED WITH TURKISH AND CHILEAN AND BRAZILIAN HONOURS. HIS PATRIOTISM HAS A STRICT CASH BASIS. MESSRS. ARMSTRONG WILL BUILD WARSHIPS FOR ANY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD; THEY ARE QUITE IMPARTIAL. THEY ARE CONSTANTLY SENDING ARMOUR PLATE TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD, NO MATTER WHAT IS THE CAUSE OF THE DISPUTE. YOU CAN OBSERVE THE DOUBLE INFLUENCE OF THESE SALES, FOR IF THEY SELL A BATTLESHIP TO A FOREIGN COUNTRY IT BECOMES AN ARGUMENT FOR INCREASING THE BRITISH FLEET IN TURN, AND THAT MEANS A NEW INCREASE OF ORDER FOR ARMSTRONG, WHITWORTH & CO. SOME OF YOU HAVE NO DOUBT LOOKED DOWN, AS I HAVE, UPON THE CHIMNEYS OF THE POZZUOLI-ARMSTRONG CO. WHICH POLLUTE THE BAY OF NAPLES. HERE GREAT BRITAIN HELPS TO MAINTAIN THE FIGHTING FORCE OF GERMANY'S ALLY.

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VICKERS' DIRECTORS ARE MEN OF WIDE AFFAIRS:

1. SIR HERBERT LAWRENCE, BESIDES BEING A DIRECTOR OF THE BANK OF RUMANIA, IS ALSO A DIRECTOR OF THE SUN INSURANCE OFFICE, LTD., WITH WHICH VICKERS-ARMSTRONGS HAD A CURIOUS AGREEMENT, THAT "IF THE PROFITS (OF VICKERS) IN ANY YEAR DURING THE FIVE YEARS ENDING DECEMBER 31, DO NOT AMOUNT TO £900,000, THEN A CONTRIBUTION NOT EXCEEDING £200,000 WILL BE MADE IN EACH YEAR."

2. SIR OTTO NIEMEYER, WHO FIRST ENTERED HIS MAJESTY'S TREASURY AT THE AGE OF TWENTY-THREE, IS ANOTHER VICKERS DIRECTOR; HE IS, IN ADDITION, AN OFFICER OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND, A DIRECTOR OF THE ANGLO-INTERNATIONAL BANK AND THE BANK OF INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENTS.

THROUGH THESE INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL INTERLOCKINGS VICKERS-ARMSTRONGS CONDUCTS ITS AFFAIRS.

AMONG THE MORE PROMINENT SHAREHOLDERS OF VICKERS OR ALLIED CONCERNS IN 1932 WERE: Fortune listed

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RT. HON. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, AND SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, M. P., WINNER OF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE IN 1925. IN 1914 THE LIST WAS EVEN MORE IMPOSING. FEW ENGLISHMEN OF PUBLIC LIFE SEEMED TO SEE ~~IMPROPRIETY~~ anything wrong IN TALKING PEACE WHILE HOLDING ~~WAR FOR A RAISE~~ profiteering by war supplies -- SO THAT THE LIST INCLUDED LORD BALFOUR, LORD CURZON, AND ALSO LORD KINNAIRD (PRESIDENT OF THE Y.M.C.A.), THREE BISHOPS, ~~AND DEAN INGE, OF ST. PAUL'S.~~

IT WAS IN THAT SAME YEAR THAT SOCIALIST PHILIP SNOWDEN SPOKE IN PARLIAMENT: "IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO THROW A STONE ON THE BENCHES OPPOSITE WITHOUT HITTING A MEMBER WHO IS a SHAREHOLDER IN ONE OR OTHER OF THESE FIRMS."

MR. SELDES GIVES A MORE ELABORATE LIST:

	VICKERS SONS & MAXIM	JOHN BROWN & CO.	ARMSTRONG WHITWORTH & CO.
Dukes	2	1	
Marquis	2		
Barons LORDS, EARLS AND FAMILIES	50	10	60
other NOBILITY	20	7	35
members of PARLIAMENT	3	2	20
army AND NAVY OFFICERS	21	2	20

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	VICKERS SONS & MAXIM	JOHN BROWN & CO.	ARMSTRONG SHITWORTH
SHIPBUILDERS, GOVERNMENT PURVEYORS	8		
FINANCIERS.....	3		1
NEWSPAPER-OWNERS AND JOURNALISTS..	6	3	8

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ONE OF THE FRENCH COWARDS OF THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE IS CHARLES PROSPER EUGENE SCHNEIDER, THE EXECUTIVE HEAD OF HUNDREDS OF ARMAMENT FIRMS THROUGHOUT EUROPE. HE IS THE PRESIDENT OF THE SCHNEIDER-CREUSOT COMPANY, ARMAMENT MANUFACTURERS WITH MINES, SMELTERS, AND FOUNDRIES SCATTERED THROUGHOUT FRANCE.

HE IS DIRECTOR OF THE BANQUE DE L'UNION PARISIENNE,

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ONE OF WHOSE MOST PROFITABLE SOURCES OF BUSINESS IS THE FINANCING OF LOANS FOR ARMAMENTS. IN 1920 HE FOUNDED AND BECAME THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNION EUROPEENNE INDUSTRIALE ET FINANCIERE -- A ~~HOLDING COMPANY~~.

THROUGH IT SCHNEIDER-CREUSOT CONTROLS 188 FRENCH COMPANIES THAT MANUFACTURE HEAVY ORDNANCE, MACHINE GUNS, TANKS, SHELLS, AMMUNITION, AND WARFARE CHEMICALS. OUT OF THE $~~300~~,000,000 60 years WHICH, AT THE MOST CONSERVATIVE GUESS, REPRESENTS THE ANNUAL BILLING OF FRANCE'S ARMAMENT CONCERNS, SCHNEIDER-CREUSOT ~~OR~~ and SUBSIDIARIES TAKE~~S~~ THE LION'S SHARE.

SKODA

THE UNION EUROPEENNE HAS A MORE IMPORTANT FUNCTION. THROUGH IT, SCHNEIDER-CREUSOT REACHES OUT TO CONTROL 230 largest ARMAMENT AND ALLIED ENTERPRISES OUTSIDE FRANCE. THE ~~GREATEST~~ OF THESE CONCERNS IS SKODA.

~~WHILE THE SKODA WORKS [illegible] HAS ONCE~~ AN

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AUSTRIAN TERRITORY, ITS FACTORIES ARE SCATTERED NOT ONLY OVER CZECHOSLOVAKIA BUT OVER POLAND AND RUMANIA AS WELL. UPON THE BOARD OF SKODA, WHICH THE UNION EUROPEENNE CONTROLS THROUGH 56 PER CENT. OF ITS STOCK, M. SCHNEIDER SITS WITH HIS FRIEND ANDRE VICAIRE, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF SCHNEIDER-CREUSOT; HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW, ARNAUD DE SAINT-SAUVER.

YOU KNOW THE OLD SAYING OF ALL WORSHIPPERS OF MAMMON "MONEY DOES NOT SMELL." CERTAINLY PRESIDENT MASYNECK THE "LIBERAL AND COLLEGE PROFESSOR" MUST BELIEVE IN THIS. FOR HE WAS NOT ADVERSE IN HOLDING SHARES IN THE BENEFITS DERIVED FROM THE SCHNEIDER-SKODA HUMANITARIAN ASSOCIATION. NEITHER DID EDUARD BENES, CHECHOSLAVAKIAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. THIS GENTLEMAN WAS ALWAYS PROFUSE IN HIS ALLEGIANCE TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS THAT MISELT BORNE OUT OF THE BIGGEST BODY OF THE WAR. Yet he complacently held shares in the Skoda Works.

OTHERS INTERESTED IN SKODA ARE TWO CHECHO-GERMANS, VON DUTCHNITZ AND VON ARTHABER. BOTH BECAME VERY GENEROUS FINANCIAL BACKERS OF HITLER'S CAMPAIGN. THANKS TO THE CAREFUL MANIPULATION

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OF SKODA AND THE SMALLER CHECHOSLAVAKIAN CONCERNS MUNITIONS TO THE EXTENT OF $30,000,000 A YEAR ARE EXPORTED FROM THE COUNTRY.

FAR OUTSTRIPPING THE PREVIOUS CHRISTIAN AND PATRIOTIC GENTLEMEN OF THE ARMAMENT RING IS [redacted], THE COMMITE DES FORGES. The French Iron + steel manufacturers

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY COMPANIES -- MINES, SMELTERS, METALLURGICAL ESTABLISHMENTS, FOUNDRIES -- MAKE UP ITS MEMBERSHIP, AND OF THESE 250 COMPANIES, OVER 150 ARE ARMAMENT CONCERNS. THE NOMINAL CAPITAL STOCK OF THE MEMBER COMPANIES OF THE COMMITE TOTALS SOME 7,500,000,000 FRANCS, ~~YET~~ SOME ACCOUNTANTS HAVE PLACED THE FIGURE FOR A TRUE ~~VALUATION~~ AS HIGH AS 40,000,000,000 FRANCS. of the Capital stock

THE CHIEF OFFICER OF THE COMMITE, THE PRESIDENT, IS FRANCOIS DE WENDELL. HE DERIVES HIS POWER NOT ONLY FROM

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BEING PRESIDENT OF THE COMMITE BUT AS ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL OWNERS OF HIS OWN IRON AND STEEL CONCERNS. BENEATH HIM AND HIS ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD ON THE COMITE THERE SPREAD OUT SIX REGIONAL COMMITTEES: THE LOIRE, NORD, L'EST, MINIERE D'ALSACE-LORRAINE, FORGES DE LORRAINE, AND CHAMPAGNE.

FRANCOIS DE WENDELL IS A REGULAR DR. JECKYL AND MR. HYDE. IF AS PRESIDENT OF THE COMMITE DES FORGES HE IS CONFRONTED WITH SOME FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES HE CAN CONSULT FRANCOIS DE WENDELL, REGENT OF THE BANQUE DE FRANCE. IF HE MUST HAVE POLITICAL HELP, HE HAS BUT TO TURN TO FRANCOIS DE WENDELL, MEMBER OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES FOR MEURTHE-ET-MOSELLE. SHOULD HE NEED SOME PUBLICITY, HE NEED ONLY TO WHISPER IN THE EARS OF FRANCOIS DE WENDELL WHO OWNS A MAJORITY INTEREST IN THE "JOUR DES DEBATS", IN FACT IN MANY NEWSPAPERS.

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SIR BASIL ZAHAROFF CALLED "THE MAN OF MYSTERY"

HE WAS AN INTIMATE OF LLOYD GEORGE DURING THE WAR; A FEW

RELATIVELY MILD REVELATIONS OF THE DEGREE TO WHICH HE INFLUENCED

GREAT BRITAIN'S ARMAMENT, MILITARY, AND FOREIGN POLICIES DURING

AND AFTER THE WAR WERE ENOUGH, IN 1922, TO SEND LLOYD GEORGE,

[redacted], OUT OF OFFICE.

THIS STRANGE CHARACTER, THE GREATEST ARMAMENT SALESMAN THE

WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN, STRUCK A MAJOR SPARK IN THE WORLD WHEN

HE COLLIDED WITH AN AMERICAN OF SOMEWHAT SIMILAR INTERESTS.

SIR BASIL AT THAT TIME WAS A SALESMAN FOR THE NORDENFELDT

GUNS & AMMUNITION CO., LTD. OF ENGLAND, AND HAD DONE VERY WELL

IN PROFITS OUT OF THE PERPETUAL [redacted] FIGHTS IN THE BALKANS AND

THE NEAR EAST, TO WHICH HE WAS USUALLY PURVEYOR AND OF WHICH

HE WAS FREQUENTLY (IT WAS AN EASY TRICK ONCE HE LEARNED IT)

INSTIGATOR.

THE AMERICAN ZAHAROFF TOOK TO HIS BOSOM WAS HIRAM MAXIM,

WHOSE NEW MACHINE GUN WAS INCOMPARABLY THE BEST KILLING MACHINE

ZAHAROFF HAD EVER SEEN. FIRST HE USED HIS POLYGLOT SALESMANSHIP

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TO BLOCK THE GUN'S SALE IN AUSTRIA AS AN IMPRACTICAL TOY;

THEN, WHEN HE HAD OFFERED MAXIM A PARTNERSHIP AND GOT THE

SALE OF THE GUN FIRMLY IN HIS OWN HANDS, HE SWEPT OVER

EUROPE AND ASIA SELLING SUCH QUANTITIES THAT SOON THE NEW

FIRM OF THE MAXIM-NORDENFELDT GUNS & AMMUNITION CO. WAS

PURCHASED FOR SOME $6,000,000 (THE YEAR WAS 1897) BY

VICKERS INTERESTS AND BECAME VICKERS SONS & MAXIM.

SIR BASIL WAS NOW ESTABLISHED AS A POWER IN ARMAMENT

AFFAIRS, HENCE IN GREAT BRITAIN'S AFFAIRS, HENCE IN WORLD

AFFAIRS. HE ALREADY ENJOYED THE DISTINCTION OF HAVING

SOLD THE FIRST PRACTICAL SUBMARINE EVER USED IN NAVAL

OPERATIONS TO HIS NATIVE GREECE, AND THE FURTHER DISTINCTION

OF HAVING USED THIS SALE TO FRIGHTEN TURKEY INTO BUYING TWO

SUBMARINES.

THE BOER WAR ADDED TO HIS LAURELS; BOERS SHOT ENGLISHMEN

WITH VICKERS GUNS AND AMMUNITION. THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

PROVIDED HIM WITH AN EVEN WIDER FIELD FOR HIS GIFTS; VICKERS

SOLD AS MUCH WAR MATERIAL (AND POSSIBLY MORE) TO RUSSIA AS

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IT DID TO JAPAN, ENGLAND'S SUPPOSED ALLY.

NATURALLY, IT WAS THE WORLD WAR THAT GRATIFIED SIR BASIL ~~MOST~~. THE PROFITS OF WAR-TIME ARMAMENT MANUFACTURE WERE PRACTICALLY INCALCULABLE; BY THE END OF THE WAR SIR BASIL ~~HAD~~ A PERSONAL FORTUNE THAT WAS ~~ESTIMATED~~ AS LOW AS ~~$200,000,000 OR $200,000,000 AND AS HIGH AS~~ A BILLION AND

IN 1917, WHEN THERE SEEMED A POSSIBILITY OF PEACE THROUGH THE INTERVENTION OF THE U.S., LORD BERTIE, BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE, NAIVELY RECORDED IN HIS DIARY:

"ZAHAROFF IS ALL FOR CONTINUING THE WAR JUSQU'AU BOUT."

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THE BRIEY BASIN

THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN ARMAMENT CLIQUE AND ITS POWER WERE BEST DEMONSTRATED IN THE GENTLEMAN'S AGREEMENT THAT PROLONGED THE AGONY OF THE WAR AND COST MILLIONS OF LIVES. THE DETAILS OF THE CRIMINAL BARGAIN HAVE BEEN DESCRIBED IN FULL BY ALL THE RECENT WRITERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL MUNITION MANUFACTURERS.

BEFORE 1914 THE GREAT IRON MINES AND SMELTERS IN THE BRIEY BASIN PROVIDED 70 PER CENT OF THE ORE USED BY FRANCE. THE GERMAN ADVANCE WRESTED THEM FROM THE POLITICAL CONTROL OF FRANCE -- AND QUITE NATURALLY THE GERMAN ARTILLERY CHIEFS SAW TO IT THAT THE MINES WERE SO PROTECTED FROM SHELL FIRE THAT THEY COULD BE TAKEN OVER INTACT.

THENCEFORTH THE MINES OF THE BRIEY BASIN WERE OPERATED FOR THE BENEFIT OF GERMANY-- IN ASSOCIATION WITH OTHER MINES IN LORRAINE WHICH HAD BEEN IN GERMAN HANDS SINCE 1871 THEY SUPPLIED GERMANY WITH SOME THREE-QUARTERS OF THE ORE SHE CONSUMED DURING THE WAR.

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IN 1916 THE BRIEY BASIN CAME ONCE AGAIN WITHIN REACH OF FRANCE. THE BRIEY MINES AND SMELTERS WERE TURNING OUT TONS OF RAW MATERIALS PER DAY WHICH WERE BEING CONTINUOUSLY TURNED INTO WEAPONS OF DEATH AGAINST FRENCH TROOPS. THE CREDULOUS POPULATION WOULD HAVE SUPPOSED THAT THE FRENCH SECOND ARMY WOULD TURN LOOSE ITS BOMBING PLANES AND BLAST OUT OF EXISTENCE A PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF ENEMY SUPPLY. WELL, IT WAS NOT DONE.

The reason for it was this

~~FROM TRADERS WAS GIVEN OUT THAT~~ IF BRIEY WERE BOMBARDED, THE GERMANS, IN REPRISAL, WOULD TURN THEIR GUNS ON DOMBASLE IN MEURTHE-ET-MOSELLE, WHERE EQUALLY LARGE-SCALE MINING OPERATIONS WERE SUPPLYING THE FRENCH WITH MUCH OF THEIR OWN RAW MATERIAL FOR ORDNANCE AND AMMUNITION, SO LONG AS THE FRENCH LEFT BRIEY ALONE THE GERMANS WOULD LET DOMBASLE ALONE.

NO LESS AN AUTHORITY THAN DEPUTE PIERRE ETIENNE FLANDIN, ~~LATER~~ former Premier of France LATER FINANCE MINISTER UNDER TARDIEU, CORROBORATED THIS secret deal STRANGE PACT. AN ARTILLERY OFFICER DURING THE WAR, HE WAS IN A POSITION TO KNOW THAT THE ARTILLERY OF THE FRENCH SECOND

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ARMY HAD BEEN EXPRESSLY FORBIDDEN TO BOMBARD BRIEY WHEN THE CHANCE EXISTED, AND WHEN A TEN-MILE PENETRATION OF THE SECTOR WOULD HAVE RESULTED IN THE RUIN OF GERMANY.

THIS WAS ALSO BORNE OUT BY DEPUTY BARTHE, IN THE CHAMBER ON JANUARY 24, 1919. HE SAID: "I AFFIRM THAT EITHER BY THE FACT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOLICARITY OF THE GREAT METALLURGICAL COMPANIES, OR IN ORDER TO SAFEGUARD PRIVATE BUSINESS INTERESTS, OUR MILITARY CHIEFS WERE ORDERED NOT TO BOMBARD THE ESTABLISHMENTS OF BRIEY BASIN, WHICH WERE BEING EXPLOITED BY THE ENEMY DURING THE WAR. I AFFIRM THAT OUR AVIATION SERVICE RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS TO RESPECT THE BLAST FURNACES IN WHICH THE ENEMY STEEL WAS BEING MADE, AND THAT A GENERAL WHO WISHED TO BOMBARD THEM WAS REPRIMANDED."

EVERYONE WHO DARED OPPOSE THE WAR HAD BEEN DECRIED AS TRAITOR TO [redacted] COUNTRY, PERSECUTED, HOUNDED, ROBBED OF HOME AND HEARTH AND MANY SHOT. THE REAL TRAITORS WERE NOT ONLY NOT TOUCHED BUT AIDED AND ABETTED BY THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS AND THE FLAGRANT ALLIGNMENT WITH ENEMY FORCES T[redacted]

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~~AND HONORS~~. FRANKLY, I CONSIDER GANGSTERS LIKE CAPONE, and Dillinger and more

DIAMOND, DILLINGER AND ~~EVEN BABY KIDNAPPERS~~ HUMANE COMPARED

WITH THE KRUPPS, SCHNEIDERS, DE WENDELL AND THE REST.

To be sure

~~DO NOT CONSOLE YOURSELF WITH THE HOPE THAT~~ THE EUROPEAN

not America is not except perhaps the Pinkertons

WAR ~~RACKETEE~~RS ARE ~~THE ONLY TRADERS IN DEATH~~. ~~THE~~

brought to light

The

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION HAS ~~PROVEN THAT AMERICA IS~~

the numerous concerns involved

~~EQUALLY INVOLVED~~. THE DUPONTS AND BETHLEHEM STEEL, THE

in the same vicious trade,

MIDVALE CO. (CONTROLLED BY THE BALDWIN LOCOMOTIVE WORKS)

THE MELLON AND CARNEGIE-FRICK CONCERNS, ALL THESE ~~PROSPERED~~ rocketted

huge fortunes. for has their refineries

~~MIGHTILY~~ DURING THE WAR, ~~AND THEY HAVE CONTINUED THE MANUFACTURE~~ business declined since

~~OF GUNS AND GUN FORGINGS~~, ARMOUR PLATE AND ~~PROJECTILES~~. ~~IN~~

There there is

~~ADDITION ARE~~ THE COLT'S PATENT FIREARMS MFG. CO. WHICH

SUPPLIES MACHINE GUNS AS WELL AS SQUIRREL RIFLES, ~~WHICH~~ has combined

DECLARED AN EXTRA DIVIDEND IN 1933; THE REMINGTON ARMS CO.

(CONTROLLED BY DUPONT) WHOSE OUTPUT OF FIREARMS AND AMMUNITION

TOGETHER ~~IS~~ represent ONE-THIRD OF U.S. PRODUCTION. and Curtiss Wright Co.

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in the domain of

He surpassed

BETHLEHEM'S MR. CHARLES M. SCHWAB ~~ASTOUNDED~~ THE CADETS OF WEST POINT IN 1927 BY SAYING: "TODAY THE BETHLEHEM STEEL COMPANY HAS DEFINITELY ABANDONED ANY THOUGHT OF EVER AGAIN ENGAGING IN THE MANUFACTURE OF ORDNANCE EXCEPT IN TIMES OF GREAT NATIONAL EMERGENCY." SUCH TIMES ARE APPARENTLY WITH THE U.S. NOW.

IN THE OFFICIAL LISTING OF BETHLEHEM'S PRODUCTS (YOU NEED ONLY TURN TO STANDARD STATISTICS OR BETHLEHEM'S OWN MOST RECENT ANNUAL REPORT) YOU WILL FIND ARMOUR PLATE, PROJECTILES, GUN AND SHELL FORGINGS, BATTLESHIPS, BATTLE CRUISERS, SCOUT CRUISERS, DESTROYERS, SUBMARINES, AND AIRPLANE CARRIERS ALL LISTED AS PRODUCTS OF BETHLEHEM'S PLANTS.

THE SITE AT BETHLEHEM WHERE CANNON AND ARMOUR PLATE ARE MADE IS SEPARATE FROM THE REST OF THE PLANT. NO OUTSIDERS ARE ALLOWED TO SEE THE TRIUMPH OF INVENTIVENESS ~~FOR BETHLEHEM NOT ONLY MAKES "ARMOUR-PIERCING PROJECTILES, BUT ANOTHER "ARMOUR PLATE."~~ As Mast assuredly the Johnsale knows all about it.

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IRON, BLOOD AND PROFITS FULLY CORROBORATES THAT AND ALSO SHOWS HOW THE DEALS ARE TRANSACTED.

THE DUPONTS HAVE BEEN IN AN AGREEMENT WITH A GERMAN FIRM -- THE UNITED RHENISCH WESTPHALIAN GUNPOWDER MILLS -- TO KEEP HIM INFORMED OF ALL IMPROVEMENTS IN THE PROCESSES OF POWDER-MAKING.

THEIR CONTRACTS ARE TO THE EFFECT:

THAT ANY AND EVERY IMPROVEMENT UPON SAID PROCESSES OF EITHER OF THEM MADE BY EITHER OF THE PARTIES HERETO AT ANY TIME HEREAFTER SHALL FORTHWITH BE IMPARTED TO THE OTHER OF THE PARTIES HERETO.

THE DUPONTS AGREED TO KEEP THE GERMAN CONCERN INFORMED AT ALL TIMES OF ALL POWDER FURNISHED TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, STATING IN DETAIL ITS QUALITY AND CHARACTERISTICS, AND EVEN THE QUANTITY, MAKING THEMSELVES, TO ~~ALL PRACTICAL ENDS~~, PAID INFORMERS OF A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT.

THAT THE PARTIES OF THE SECOND PART (THE DUPONTS) WILL, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, INFORM THE PARTY OF THE FIRST PART (THE GERMAN CONCERN) OF EACH AND EVERY CONTRACT FOR BROWN POWDER OR NITRATE OF AMMONIA POWDER RECEIVED BY THE PARTIES OF THE SECOND PART FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, OR ANY

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OTHER CONTRACTING PARTY OR PARTIES, STATING IN DETAIL QUANTITY, PRICE, TIME OF DELIVERY, AND ALL OF THE REQUIREMENTS THAT THE POWDER CALLED FOR IN SUCH CONTRACT HAS TO FULFILL."

Shearer

AMERICANS ARE PROVERBIALLY OPEN-HANDED. ESPECIALLY WHEN IT IS IN RECOGNITION FOR VALUABLE SERVICES RENDERED. SHEARER, THE ALL AROUND HANDY AGENT OF THE AMERICAN MUNITION LORDS IS A CASE IN POINT.

Example Case The Shearer disclosures a case

SHEARER, [redacted] EMPLOYEE IN THE NAVY DEPARTMENT, CLAIMED THAT IN 1924 A GROUP OF NAVAL OFFICERS, INCLUDING FOUR REAR-ADMIRALS, HIRED HIM TO CAMPAIGN FOR A BIG NAVY AND MORE BASES, ADMITTED BEING ACTIVE IN WASHINGTON FOR SEVERAL YEARS BEFORE GOING TO GENEVA IN 1926 TO RECONNOITRE. IN 1927 HE WENT THERE AGAIN, THIS TIME PAID "OBSERVER" OF THE AMERICAN SHIPBUILDERS, "TO SEE THAT THE UNITED STATES GOT A SQUARE DEAL IN PUBLICITY."

he was an in paid

IN THE BRITISH PRESS SHEARER WAS IMMEDIATELY ACCUSED OF PROPAGANDA WORK, BUT WITH THE EXCEPTION OF SUCH NEWSPAPERS AS THE NEW YORK WORLD, THE BALTIMORE SUN, THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, THE ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH AND THE OTHER

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LIBERAL AMERICAN JOURNALS, NO MENTION WAS MADE OF THE ARMAMENT AGENT BY THE CORRESPONDENTS IN GENEVA WHO WERE PUBLISHING HIS "HANDOUTS."

THROUGHOUT EUROPE THE RUMOUR SPREAD THAT SHEARER HAD SMASHED THE CONFERENCE, BUT AMERICA WAS ALMOST IGNORANT OF THE MATTER, AND IT MIGHT HAVE REMAINED SO HAD NOT SHEARER IN 1929, HIS WORK WELL DONE, SUED FOR THE MONEY HE SAID THE ARMAMENT-MAKERS STILL OWED HIM.

Denver, stady transcdear may never have became ~~he~~ ~~he~~ ~~could~~ HE ASKED THE COURTS TO AWARD HIM $255,655. FROM THE BETHLEHEM SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION, THE NEWPORT NEWS SHIPBUILDING AND DRY DOCK CO. AND THE AMERICAN BROWN BOVERI ELECTRIC CORPORATION HE HAD RECEIVED A MEAGRE $51,230 FOR HIS WORK AS "OBSERVER." THUS THE SCANDAL WAS BROUGHT TO LIGHT BY A LAWSUIT, AS SO MANY PREVIOUS ARMAMENT SCANDALS HAD BEEN.

SHEARER ~~BEGAN HIS STATEMENT BY SAYING~~ stated THAT CHARLES M. SCHWAB WAS THE FIRST REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SHIPBUILDERS WITH WHOM HE TALKED. HIS FIRST CONTRACT, HE SAID, WAS FOR $7,500

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TO COVER THE SIXTY-NINTH CONGRESS, THE THREE-CRUISER-BILL CONGRESS. WHEN HE WENT TO GENEVA HE TOOK LETTERS FROM "PRACTICALLY EVERY PATRIOTIC SOCIETY IN THE UNITED STATES WHO ENDORSED MY STAND ... THE NATIVE SONS OF CALIFORNIA, THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY LEAGUE.

HIS FIRST CONTACT WITH THE PRESS WAS DURING THE RED-BAITING 1920'S. "I WAS ASKED OR I WAS APPROACHED BY A MAN YOU ALL HAVE HEARD OF IN HIS FIGHT AGAINST THE ANARCHISTS AND COMMUNISTS. HE WAS THEN EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK COMMERCIAL A MAN BY THE NAME OF MAJOR CHARLES, OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, AND INCIDENTALLY THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN DEFENSE SOCIETY...."

JUST AS HE WAS ABOUT TO SAIL FOR GENEVA, HE RECEIVED A BLUE BOOK OF "FACTS" FROM THE UNITED STATES NAVY DEPARTMENT. ARRIVING IN PARIS, HE WENT TO SEE THE NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS WITH WHOM HE WAS TO WORK IN GENEVA. AS PROOF OF HIS WORK HE PRESENTED LETTERS OF THANKS FORM THEM. HIS CREDENTIALS AS A JOURNALIST WERE FURNISHED BY MR. HENRY WALES OF THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE. ARMED WITH A PRESS CARD WHICH MADE HIM REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NEW YORK DAILY NEWS, HE WAS ABLE TO ENTER THE PRESS

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GALLERIES, CONFER WITH THE JOURNALISTS, AND ATTEND THE PRESS RECEPTIONS GIVEN BY AMBASSADOR GIBSON AND THE NAVAL DELEGATION.

RETURNING TO AMERICA, HE TESTIFIED, "MY PUBLICITY CAMPAIGN CONTINUED IN THE HEARST PAPERS, WASHINGTON POST, JOURNALS AND WEEKLIES.....I HAVE ADVISED CERTAIN PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES IN THEIR CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE PACIFISTS." HE CLAIMED HE HAD BEEN SPEAKER AND ADVISER FOR YEARS FOR THE NATIONAL SECURITY LEAGUE, THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, THE AMERICAN LEGION, THE AMERICAN DEFENSE SOCIETY, THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF DEFENSE.

FOR ORGANIZING THE PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES FOR HEARST HE RECEIVED $2,000 A WEEK. THE OBJECT WAS TO ~~ATTACK THE~~ LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE WORLD COURT.

PATRIOTISM TRIUMPHED AND THE LARGEST PART OF $740,000,000 FROM GOVERNMENT APPROPRIATIONS WERE ON THEIR WAY TO THE PRIVATE ARMAMENT-MAKERS.

ON THE WITNESS STAND, BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING THE SALE OF MUNITIONS, THE FOUR DUPONTS, MEMBERS OF THE FIRM OF E.I.DUPONT DE NEMOURS AND COMPANY,

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TESTIFIED THAT THEIR BUSINESS IN THE WAR YEARS OF 1917-18 PAID AN AVERAGE DIVIDEND ON COMMON STOCK OF 49 PER CENT. THE TOTAL GROSS SALES FROM 1915 THROUGH 1918 WERE $1,245,000,000. PROFITS ON THIS SUM AMOUNTED TO $250,000,000. IRENEE DUPONT, DOUBTLESS SPEAKING ALSO FOR HIS TWO BROTHERS AND HIS COUSIN, EXPRESSED HIMSELF IN MOST FORCIBLE LANGUAGE AS OF THE OPINION THAT THE MUNITIONS INDUSTRY SHOULD REMAIN IN PRIVATE HANDS.

ON THE WITNESS STAND ALSO, COLONEL WILLIAM N. TAYLOR, EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVE FOR THE DUPONT COMPANY, WAS DISCLOSED AS THE AUTHOR OF A LETTER TO HIS HOME OFFICE WHICH CONTAINED A PRETTY BIT OF PROPHECY. HE WROTE ON JANUARY 18, 1933: "THERE SEEMS TO BE THE BEGINNING OF A DECIDED INCREASE OF ACTIVITY IN THE AMMUNITION BUSINESS IN EUROPE. THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF EXCITEMENT IS THE POSSIBILITY OF REVOLUTION OF THE CROATS IN SERBIA, WHICH, IF IT TAKES PLACE, WILL CAUSE CONSIDERABLE TROUBLE."

BUSINESS WAS SOARING. AND THE DUPONTS, THE CURTISS-WRIGHTS, THE MANUFACTURERS OF POISON GAS AND GUNS AND BOMBS AND ALL THE REST WERE ON THE JOB. THEY WERE READY WITH BRIBES

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("PALM OIL," "GREASE," "TAKE CARE OF," "FIX," WERE SOME OF THE ELEGANT TERMS TO AVOID THE FAR MORE UGLY WORD). THEY JUMPED IN ON BOTH SIDES OF A CONTROVERSY (BOTH BOLIVIA AND PARAGUAY WERE CUSTOMERS OF CURTISS-WRIGHT), TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS BETWEEN NATIONS WERE SCRAPS OF PAPER TO THEM. THE DUPONTS WERE AWARE THAT ARMS THEY SOLD AND SENT TO HOLLAND WERE DESIGNED FOR GERMANY IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES).

THE DISCLOSURES WHICH SENATOR NYE'S COMMITTEE IS BRINGING FORTH EVERY DAY MAKE IT PERFECTLY CLEAR THAT NOT ONLY IS THE ARMS BUSINESS A MENACE TO PEACE OF THE WORLD BUT IT IS A DIRTY BUSINESS IN ITSELF.

IN A LETTER TO OWEN SHANNON OF THE CURTISS-WRIGHT COMPANY, DATED DECEMBER 27, 1933, FRANK SHERIDAN JONAS, REPRESENTING THE REMINGTON ARMS COMPANY AND FEDERAL LABORATORIES IN SOUTH AMERICA, DESCRIBED THE BUSINESS IN WHICH HE AND HIS ASSOCIATES WERE ENGAGED IN THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

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"THE PARAGUAY AND BOLIVIA FRACAS APPEARS TO BE COMING TO A TERMINATION, SO BUSINESS FROM THIS END IS PROBABLY FINISHED. WE CERTAINLY ARE IN ONE HELL OF A BUSINESS, WHERE A FELLOW HAS TO WISH FOR TROUBLE SO AS TO MAKE A LIVING, THE ONLY CONSOLATION BEING, HOWEVER, THAT IF WE DON'T GET THE BUSINESS SOMEONE ELSE WILL. IT WOULD BE A TERRIBLE STATE OF AFFAIRS IF MY CONSCIENCE STARTED TO BOTHER ME NOW."

Grace Cleveland

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COMMISSION KNEW ALL ~~THAT~~ of this IN 1981. IT DECLARED THAT WARS "ARE PROMOTED BY THE COMPETITIVE ZEAL OF PRIVATE ARMAMENT FIRMS." THE REPORT FURTHER STATES THAT ARMAMENT FIRMS HAVE THROUGH INTERNATIONAL RINGS CAUSED THE ARMAMENT RACES WHICH THEY KNEW WOULD LEAD TO WAR, THAT THEY FOMENTED WAR SCARES, INTRIGUED IN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, URGED NATIONS TO ADOPT MORE MILITARISTIC PROGRAMS WHICH WOULD OBVIOUSLY PROVOKE WARS, ETC.

UNFORTUNATELY ONE HALF OF THE LEAGUE MEMBERS DID NOT SEE WHAT THE OTHER HALF WAS DOING. IT TALKED AND TALKED WHILE THE ARMAMENT-MAKERS OF THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE, GREAT BRITAIN, GERMANY, AND JAPAN ARE ~~LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE~~ were busying to manufacture TWENTY

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YEARS OF CIVIL WAR IN CHINA. KRUPPS, VICKERS, SCHNEIDER OFFICIALS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AMERICAN AIRPLANE, POWDER, AND RIFLE COMPANIES HAVE ARMED THE CHINESE WAR LORDS. THEY HAVE ACCEPTED PAYMENT BASED ON THE LOOTING OF CITIES AND THE ~~NECESSARY~~ wholesale SLAUGHTER. THE MERCENARY ARMIES OF CHINA HAVE BEEN RAISED BY FINANCIAL BACKERS IN HONG-KONG, PARIS, LONDON, NEW YORK, AND YOKOHAMA, AND EVEN MOSCOW HAS TAKEN A HAND IN ARMING AND SUPPORTING THE COMMUNIST FACTION. WHILE JAPAN, AFTER SELLING A LARGE PART OF THE ARMS WHICH PROVOKED THE REBELLIONS, WHICH IN TURN CAUSED CHAOS, USED CHAOS AS AN EXCUSE FOR ITS INVASIONS AND ANNEXATIONS.

THE ~~HEALTHFULNESS~~ welfare OF THE GUN MAKER, DEPENDS ON SLAUGHTER, AND ~~BUSINESS IS BUSINESS~~. THE MORE WARS THE RICHER THE PROFITS.

THE TRADERS IN DEATH EVIDENTLY AGREE WITH DR. JOHNSON'S IDEA OF PATRIOTISM AS THE LAST ~~RESULT~~ refuge OF SCOUNDRELS. THIS FACT IS ILLUMINATED BY THE PART THE INTERNATIONAL MUNITION GANG HAS PLAYED IN HITLER'S MARCH TO SUPREMACY.

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IN GERMANY THE GREATEST STEEL COMPANY IS THE VEREINIGTE STAHLWERKE A.G. AND FOR ITS HEAD IT HAS FRITZ THYSSEN, KING OF THE RUHR. IT WAS THYSSEN WHO ~~WAS~~ became HITLER'S ANGEL; WHO, AS ONE MOVE IN A BATTLE TO RETAIN CONTROL OF HIS INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS (DEALT A DESPERATE BLOW BY GERMANY'S BANKING CRISIS OF 1931), BEGAN POURING MONEY INTO THE TREASURY OF THE NAZIS TO ASSURE TO HIMSELF THE HELP OF A FRIENDLY GOVERNMENT.

IN 1932 OLD FRITZ THYSSEN CAPPED MANY PREVIOUS GENEROSITIES WITH A SINGLE CONTRIBUTION OF 3,000,000 MARKS FOR THE GERMAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN. ~~OLD FRITZ~~ Thyssen, DESPITE HIS PERSONALLY VIOLENT NATIONALISM, WAS NOT AT ALL HOSTILE TO THE DE WENDEL-SCHNEIDER INTERESTS IN FRANCE. In point of fact HE FAVORED, ~~IN FACT~~, A WORKING COMPACT WITH THEM SO LONG AS HE COULD RETAIN UNHAMPERED CONTROL OF HIS OWN PROPERTIES.

WE SEE, THEN, THE SPECTACLE OF A NAZI SUPPORTER ON THE ONE HAND BREATHING FIRE AGAINST FRANCE, AND ON THE OTHER SITTING DOWN ON TERMS OF THOROUGH UNDERSTANDING WITH THE PRINCIPAL

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ARMAMENT FIRM THAT REPRESENTED THE IMPLACABLE POLITICAL ENEMY OF HIS COUNTRY.

THIS DOES NOT COMPLETE THE PICTURE. THE COMMITE DES FORGES AND SCHNEIDER-CREUSOT WERE ALSO WILLING TO SEE HITLER GAIN ASCENDANCY IN GERMANY. IN 1933 HITLER SUED A GERMAN JOURNALIST FOR HAVING MADE THE STATEMENT THAT SKODA (AND, THROUGH SKODA, SCHNEIDER-CREUSOT) HAD CONTRIBUTED TO HIS CAMPAIGN EXPENSES. WHEN, HOWEVER, HE WAS CHALLENGED TO MAKE A DIRECT DENIAL THAT THIS WAS SO, HE STORMED FROM THE WITNESS STAND, CURSED THE OPPOSING LAWYER FOR A JEW, NEVER SPECIFICALLY ANSWERED THE QUESTION, AND WAS SUBSEQUENTLY FINED 1,000 MARKS FOR CONTEMPT OF COURT AS A RESULT. DE WENDEL, SCHNEIDER, VICKERS AND THE REST SAID NOTHING, AND NOWHERE HAS A DENIAL OF THE ACCUSATION EVER BEEN MADE.

AMERICA COULD NOT LAG BEHIND IN THE WORTHY TASK OF BACKING NATIONAL SOCIALISM. THUS IT CAME ABOUT THAT AMERICAN BANKERS' GOLD NO LESS THAN THE GUNS OF THE BENEFACTORS IN EUROPE HELPED TO ENSLAVE SIXTY-FIVE MILLION PEOPLE.

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BUSINESS IS BUSINESS WROTE OCTAVE MIRBEAU, THE ANARCHIST IN HIS PLAY BY THAT NAME. EXCEPT THAT THE MUNITION GANGSTERS ARE SHREWDER THAN THEIR COLLEAGUES IN OTHER CAPITALIST VENTURES. THEY ARE MERELY DOING WHAT EVERYONE ELSE IS DOING, IF WITH SMALLER RETURNS.

YES, SAY THE UPHOLDERS OF THE STATE WHATEVER ~~THEIR~~ its POLITICAL SHADE, THAT'S WHY WE WANT THE GOVERNMENT TO NATIONALIZE THE MANUFACTURE OF WAR SUPPLIES. THEN WHAT? WILL THE REASONS FOR WAR CEASE? AND WHAT ABOUT THE NATIONAL BUG, MORE POISONOUS SINCE EUROPE HAS BEEN CHOPPED UP INTO SO MANY SMALL NATIONS, EACH ONE READY TO SPRING AT THE THROAT OF THE OTHER? HERE WE COME TO THE CRUX OF THE WHOLE QUESTION -- NATIONALISM. ITS QUEST FOR ~~AGGRANDISEMENT~~ grandeur AND ITS WILL TO POWER. ~~THEY ARE~~ It is AS MUCH THE CONDITIONING FACTORS OF WAR AS THE TRADERS IN DEATH. YET, EVEN THE MOST ENLIGHTENED ABHORERS OF HUMAN SLAUGHTER ARE be OVERRULED BY NATIONAL ~~SENTIMENTALISM~~ sentiment. TRUE, THEY WAX HOT AGAINST WAR DURING PEACE TIME, BUT THEY INVARIABLY COLLAPSE AT THE FIRST SIGN OF HOSTILITIES. WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, THIS HAPPENED IN THE LAST WAR. PACIFISTS, SOCIALISTS AND EVEN SOME

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ANARCHISTS FORGOT ALL THEIR PEACE-TIME PROTESTATIONS. THEY WENT OVER THE TOP WITH THE REST OF THE CHAUVINISTS. THEY HAD A RUDE AWAKENING AND WITH THEM TENS OF THOUSANDS IN EVERY LAND. And now again protests are being heard by the new slogan, Sanction, as they lead to war.

HOWEVER, THE FEELING AGAINST WAR HAS INCREASED. EVER LARGER NUMBERS ARE AWAKENING TO the Nature of the WORLD. TWENTY THOUSAND MINISTERS ALONE HAVE DEFINITELY COME OUT AGAINST WAR, LARGE STUDENT BODIES AND MEN AND WOMEN OF EVERY LAYER IN SOCIETY. THAT IS ENCOURAGING, INDEED. IT ONLY REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHAT THEY WILL DO IN THE NEXT WAR.

FOR INSTANCE, A WAR AGAINST GERMANY. ALREADY VOICES ARE HEARD THAT THIS WOULD BE A HOLY WAR WHICH EVERYBODY MUST SUPPORT. I VENTURE TO PREDICT THAT THE ENTIRE JEWRY WILL ENLIST AS WELL AS SOCIALISTS AND ~~RADICALS~~ communists. WHY NOT? IF SO DISTINGUISHED A MAN AS PROF. EINSTEIN HAS HAD A CHANGE OF HEART, WHY NOT EVERYBODY ELSE?

ON AUG. 20th 1933, PROF. EINSTEIN SENT THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO THE INTERNATIONAL WAR RESISTERS CONFERENCE:

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"ALL THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD ARE TALKING ABOUT DIS-ARMAMENT. YOU MUST LEAD THEM TO DO MORE THAN TALK. THE PEOPLE MUST TAKE THIS MATTER OUT OF THE HANDS OF STATESMEN AND DIPLOMATS. THEY MUST GRIP IT IN THEIR OWN HANDS.

THOSE WHO THINK THAT THE DANGER OF WAR IS PAST ARE LIVING IN A FOOL'S PARADISE. WE HAVE TODAY TO FACE A MILITARISM FAR MORE POWERFUL AND DESTRUCTIVE THAN THE MILITARISM WHICH BROUGHT THE DISASTER OF THE GREAT WAR.

YOU MUST CALL UPON THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITEDLY TO REFUSE TO BECOME THE TOOLS OF DEATH-DEALING INTERESTS. THERE ARE YOUNG MEN IN TWELVE COUNTRIES WHO ARE RESISTING CONSCRIPTION BY REFUSAL TO DO MILITARY SERVICE. THEY ARE THE PIONEERS OF A WARLESS WORLD. EVERY SINCERE FRIEND OF PEACE MUST SUPPORT THEM, AND HELP TO AROUSE THE MORAL CONVICTION OF THE WORLD AGAINST CONSCRIPTION.

I APPEAL ESPECIALLY TO THE INTELLECTUALS OF THE WORLD. I APPEAL TO MY FELLOW-SCIENTISTS TO REFUSE TO CO-OPERATE IN RESEARCH, FOR WAR PURPOSES. I APPEAL TO THE PREACHERS TO SEEK TRUTH, AND TO RENOUNCE NATIONAL PREJUDICES. I APPEAL TO THE MEN OF LETTERS TO DECLARE THEMSELVES ~~UNEQUIVOCALLY~~ openly. I ASK EVERY NEWSPAPER WHICH PRIDES ITSELF ON SUPPORTING PEACE TO

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ENCOURAGE THE PEOPLES TO REFUSE WAR SERVICE. I ASK EDITORS TO CHALLENGE MEN OF EMINENCE AND OF INFLUENCE BY ASKING THEM BLUNTLY, "WHERE DO YOU STAND? MUST YOU WAIT FOR EVERYONE ELSE TO DISARM BEFORE YOU PUT DOWN YOUR WEAPONS AND HOLD OUT THE HAND OF FRIENDSHIP?"

THIS IS NO TIME FOR TEMPORIZING. YOU ARE EITHER FOR WAR OR AGAINST WAR. IF YOU ARE FOR WAR, YOU MUST ENCOURAGE SCIENCE, FINANCE, INDUSTRY, RELIGION, AND LABOR, TO EXERT THEIR POWER TO MAKE YOUR NATIONAL ARMAMENTS AS EFFICIENT AND DEADLY AS THEY CAN BE MADE. IF YOU ARE AGAINST WAR, YOU MUST ENCOURAGE THEM TO RESIST IT TO THE UTTERMOST. I ASK EVERYONE WHO READS THESE WORDS TO MAKE THIS GREAT AND DEFINITE DECISION.

LET THIS GENERATION TAKE THE GREATEST STEP FORWARD EVER MADE IN THE LIFE OF MAN. LET IT CONTRIBUTE TO THOSE WHO FOLLOW, THE INESTIMABLE SIGHT OF A WORLD IN WHICH THE BARBARITY OF WAR HAS BEEN FOREVER RENOUNCED. WE CAN DO IT IF WE WILL. IT REQUIRES ONLY THAT ALL WHO HATE WAR SHALL HAVE THE COURAGE TO SAY THAT THEY WILL NOT HAVE WAR!

I APPEAL TO ALL MEN AND WOMEN, WHETHER THEY BE EMINENT OR HUMBLE, TO DECLARE, BEFORE THE WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

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MEETING AT GENEVA, THAT THEY WILL REFUSE TO GIVE ANY FURTHER ASSISTANCE TO WAR OR TO THE PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

Prof Einsteins attitude now

AND WHAT IS ~~HIS~~ ATTITUDE NOW. THE CABLED VERSION OF THE LETTER ~~RAN AS FOLLOWS~~: He wrote to a great Belgian Pacificist is as follows;

"YOU WILL BE VERY ASTONISHED AT WHAT I AM GOING TO TELL YOU (PROF. EINSTEIN WROTE) ONLY A SHORT TIME AGO WE COULD HOPE TO FIGHT MILITARISM IN EUROPE SUCCESSFULLY BY INDIVIDUAL REFUSALS TO DO SERVICE. BUT TODAY WE ARE IN THE PRESENCE OF ALTOGETHER DIFFERENT CIRCUMSTANCES. THERE IS IN THE CENTER OF EUROPE A STATE (GERMANY) WHICH IS PUBLICLY PREPARING FOR WAR BY ALL MEANS.

"IN THESE CONDITIONS THE LATIN COUNTRIES, ABOVE ALL FRANCE AND BELGIUM, ARE IN GREAT DANGER AND CAN ONLY COUNT ON THEIR PREPAREDNESS.

"AS FAR AS BELGIUM IS CONCERNED IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THIS LITTLE COUNTRY WILL NOT MAKE ABUSIVE USE OF ITS PREPARATION AND THAT IT HAS THE GREATEST NEED TO SAFEGUARD ITS EXISTENCE.

"IMAGINE BELGIUM OCCUPIED BY PRESENT-DAY GERMANY! IT WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE WORSE THAN IN 1914, EVEN THOUGH OCCUPATION AT THAT TIME WAS TERRIBLE. THAT IS WHY I AM TELLING YOU IN THE MOST

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DIRECT FASHION THAT IF I WERE A BELGIAN I WOULD NOT REFUSE TO DO MILITARY SERVICE UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, BUT ON THE CONTRARY I WOULD ACCEPT IT IN FULL CONSCIENCE WITH THE FEELING THAT I WAS CONTRIBUTING TO SAVE EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION.

THIS DOES NOT MEAN I AM RENOUNCING MY FORMER OPINION. I DESIRE NOTHING MORE THAN TO SEE THE MOMENT RETURN WHEN REFUSAL TO DO MILITARY SERVICE COULD BE THE MEANS OF AN EFFICACIOUS FIGHT FOR THE PROGRESS OF HUMANITY.

Last sentence used to justify the war

I SYMPATHIZE WITH PROF. EINSTEIN'S CONCERN IN THE BELGIAN PEOPLE. BUT WHAT ABOUT THE SIXTY-FIVE MILLION GERMANS? A GREAT MATHEMATICIAN NEED NOT ALSO BE A CLEAR-THINKING SOCIOLOGIST. STILL, PROF. EINSTEIN KNOWS THAT THEY AND NOT HITLER AND HIS MURDEROUS CREW WILL PAY THE PRICE. AND SO WILL THE PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES, NOT ONLY THE ADULT POPULATION, COMBATANTS AND CIVILIANS BUT EVEN LITTLE CHILDREN ARE TO HELP IN THE GENERAL CARNAGE. ALREADY STALIN, MUSSOLINI AND HITLER HAVE ORDERED THEM DRILLED AND THEIR SWEET, INNOCENT SPIRITS POISONED AND DARKENED BY HATE.

Mutation will soon be added.

IN THE FACE OF SUCH AN OUTRAGE ON CHILD LIFE, IN THE FACE OF THE IMPENDING SACRIFICE OF THE YOUTH OF EACH COUNTRY, INDEED OF OUR ENTIRE CIVILIZATION, IT IS MORE THAN EVER NECESSARY TO STAND

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OUT FIRMLY AND UNFLINCHINGLY AGAINST WAR, WHICH AS I HAVE SHOWN YOU TONIGHT HAS, IS AND WILL BE ONLY FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE TRADERS IN DESTRUCTION AND DEATH.

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The Trostkyst-Fascist Putsch in Barcelona / Emma Goldman. – [1937?, fragment]. – 5 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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for the establishment of a "government of the industrial unions" with a view to the immediate realisation of the "social revolution". Translated into terms of class inter-relationship, it meant that the Trotskyists were aiming at the isolation of the working class from their confederates – the peasants and the small middle class, which is now fighting with arms in hand against fascism.

To find again the democratic rights, against the anti-fascist popular front, again the republican government, again the regular army and unified command, again the Soviet Union – that was the air which the Trotskyist [illegible] breathed.

This counter-revolutionary secret policy of the Trotskyists was being supplemented by dirty practices working against undermining the moral and military discipline. Armed bands of Trotskyists and shady criminal elements, who the militia had never had as "uncontrolled", buried themselves in [illegible] and in the [illegible] of Barcelona. They intercepted [illegible] even came to [illegible] with those who were [illegible] carabineer [illegible] enforced collectivisation of the land, [illegible] money by [illegible], etc.

[illegible] occurred which caused the cup of patience of the Catalonian government to overflow. At one of the frontier positions of Catalonia, detachments of the Trotskyists and the anarchists allied with them refused to allow the republican carabineers to guard the frontier. The Trotskyist "frontier-guards" planned by the confiscation of transports passing from France into Spain and vice-versa an arbitrarily imposed customs duties, which were received by the Trotskyists [illegible] the Catalonian government had raised the question of establishing unified protection of the frontiers and to ~~[illegible]~~ bring order into the [illegible] barrier ~~mountains~~. The General Secretary of the United

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Socialist Party of Catalonia (comprising the Socialists and Communists) - resolutions

Comorera - proposed, in the name of the Party, a number of ~~suggestions~~ to the Government, which aimed at putting an end to the arbitrary and disorderly activities of the Trotskyists.

These resolutions were rejected by the Catalonian Government at the time, because of the opposition of certain anarchist leaders who were members of the Government. In the meantime, the disorderly doings, the terrorist acts, expropriations and trifling with the peasantry of the Trotskyists continued.

On April 25th, a group of Trotskyists and Anarchists stopped a motor-car, in the neighbourhood of Barcelona, in which the well-known Socialist leader, and Secretary of the General Workers' Union, Moldon Cortali (?) was riding. He was ordered to produce his documents, and when he had shown them, he was dragged from the car and was shot in front of his wife and children. On April 27th, Cortali's funeral took place.

On April 28th, the local peasants of the village Sutsenda, roused to indignation by the outrages and terroristic acts of the Trotskyists and Anarchists elements, rebelled against them. The leader of the local Trotskyist-Anarchist Committee, Martin, who had on his conscience over 30 murders, was killed during the armed ~~rebellion~~ skirmish with some of the Republican Guards. The murder of Martin was made the pretext for armed demonstrations of the Trotskyists and the Anarchists ~~elements~~ allied with them.

On April 29th., ~~the~~ armed Trotskyist group began to occupy the strategic ~~positions~~ points in the suburbs of Barcelona. During the night of April 29th-30th, they threw up barricades, and stationed patrol guards in the surrounding districts of the town, and even some in the city itself. The leaders of the National Confederation of Labour the industrial centre of the Anarchists, and the FAI ~~disclaimed connection with~~ separated from the "uncontrolled" elements.

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[illegible] the barricades were taken down by the police, which met with no opposition. During the day of May 1 [illegible], the Trotskyists made several attempts to stop the transport of troops, and to cut telegraph and telephone communications. The government then ordered the disarmament of the persons who were about in the streets carrying arms without any official [illegible]. As a result of this the Trotskyist-anarchist [illegible] by the action of the government as ultimatum demanding the immediate dissolution of all armed government forces.

[illegible] government none need be [illegible] to carry arms, and establish government control over all [illegible] institutions [illegible] the hands of revolutionary groups. The aim is that under the [illegible] establishment of workers' control a number of institutions and undertakings were occupied by Trotskyist groups. The [illegible] in the hands of a Trotskyist [illegible] the central government were [illegible] to be.

[illegible] the order, accompanied [illegible] headquarters as [illegible] to total chaos in [illegible] appointed by the government and who was given the [illegible] actions. [illegible] of the government were not [illegible] disturbances, as by [illegible] in various parts of the town, aiming at overthrowing the government by armed force.

[illegible] May days [illegible] order was restored, but the Trotskyist-[illegible] resulted in the death of several [illegible].

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[illegible] forces were [illegible] of the [illegible] revolutionary revolt in Barcelona [illegible] was, in the first instance, the [illegible] of all [illegible], which was entirely [illegible] for [illegible] secret [illegible] – the [illegible]. The Trotskyists acted in accordance with instructions from Franco, the German and Italian interventionists. The European reactionary press asserts that on the side of the Trotskyists were considerable masses of Anarch-[illegible]. This, of course, is not true. [illegible] the Trotskyists were the so-called [illegible] [illegible] who had [illegible] themselves for [illegible] [illegible] regions and on the [illegible] of Catalonia. It must be borne in mind that the Trotskyists of Catalonia followed [illegible] tactics. [illegible] they did not act openly in [illegible] their party [illegible] under the [illegible] of all [illegible] of Anarchist [illegible] as for [illegible] the [illegible] of the Friends of Durruti.

[illegible] Correspondent [illegible] that [illegible] the Trotskyist [illegible] appeared on the wall of houses in Barcelona, [illegible] leaders [illegible] these [illegible] were [illegible] on the following day, the leader [illegible] of the Anarchist [illegible] the [illegible] declarations condemned the action of the [illegible] Durruti [illegible] of real agents-provocateurs.

[illegible] great mass of [illegible] no part whatever in the [illegible]. It was supported by [illegible] insignificant group of extreme [illegible] in whose [illegible] the Trotskyists [illegible] been carry[illegible] in ~~disturbin-~~ activities. The "News [illegible]" correspondent on May 10th wrote that the disorder

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In Barcelona were not, in point of fact, an anarchist revolt, as is asserted by the reactionary press.

This was a putsch, write the correspondent, "organized by the Trotskyst [illegible] behind the back of their original allies or 'the friends of Barcelona' and one of the organizations of the anarchist youth – 'the Libertarian Youth'. It has been ascertained that at the very beginning of the disorders in Barcelona in order to increase the general panic, provocatively a group of chauffeurs, [illegible] on the roof [illegible] opened fire [illegible]."

The [illegible] decree the necessary steps with a view to [illegible] the terms of Para. 9 of the [illegible] the Catalonian government, the central government of the [illegible] in maintaining public order in [illegible] public order in Catalonia were handed over into the [illegible] was appointed Commander [illegible] the National Confederation [illegible] the General Workers' Union I stand [illegible] effectively cooperate with the Government. [illegible] resolution to exclude the members of [illegible] from their original [illegible]

[illegible], the [illegible] of the General Workers' Union demanded [illegible] be immediately dissolved, describing this body as [illegible] within the ranks of republican Spain". The Madrid [illegible] the formation of [illegible] and a proclamation [illegible] heading [illegible] – "this [illegible] of a [illegible] propaganda [illegible] in the service of [illegible]

The [illegible] – against [illegible] of a [illegible] by no means accidental. It was undoubtedly organized in accordance with instructions from France, the German and Italian interventionists with a view to intimidating the forces and the other-

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June, 1937.

I returned to England from Spain December 193 to Paris for two months on a campaign of publicity for the CNT/FAI and here I am still after six months' strenuous activity. Never before having met with such response in England, I considered it necessary to make it clear to the comrades of the Committee National not to expect much from my efforts in this country. Besides I wanted intensely to remain in Spain at the side of our comrades whose enthusiasm, zeal and courage had renewed my faith in the realisation of our ideas. For did I not see with my own eyes the splendid constructive work begun by the CNT/FAI in the very shadow of danger and death? The heroism and fortitude of the Spanish workers carried me away and what they had begun in the revolutionary days of 191 made me love Spain as my own home.

I entered the anarchist ranks in 1 and have fought for our ideas ever since. In Spain I saw my dreams and fervent hopes as a living, active force; I could therefore not bear to exchange this for the barren soil of England - barren despite the fact that this country was in a measure the cradle of anarchism. Its parents and foster-parents were some of the most distinguished English men and women, its teachers of the greatest in the world. They were political refugees from every land who had found a real asylum in pre-war England. It is therefore strange that so little is left of the anarchist movement they had created.

Whether this is due to the Anglo-Saxon delusion of parliament as the channel of all social reforms, or to the world war that had destroyed all faith in liberating ideas, or the introduction of dictatorship as the new Deity all must worship, I cannot tell, but one thing is certain where a little of our pre-war movement has survived these devastating factors. Knowing therefore how difficult it has always proven to break new ground for anarchism in England I cautioned the

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[illegible] I [illegible] to expect wonders from our work. It was bitter hard for [illegible] to see [illegible] revolutionary battle-field for the easy-going rifish talo where revolution "is simply not done". [illegible] as I put myself at the service of the [illegible], complied with their request to proceed to this country to counteract the shameless lies and most fantastic stories about the Spanish anarchists. As stated above, I came for two months but I soon found myself involved in a number of undertakings that could not be called "[illegible]". Nor was it necessary.

[illegible], the amount subscribed to my appeals for the evacuated and homeless Spanish women and children is nothing to boast about. It only [illegible] — 554 — [illegible] in view of the [illegible] societies who are appealing for Spain the sums [illegible] but then they have the Communist Party [illegible] even if it operates under all sorts of perfectly [illegible] bacl[illegible] even if it operates under all sorts of perfectly [illegible] names. Also their slogan of democracy is far more grateful to the capitalist heart than the anarchist plea for the social revolution. Their work must needs have brought greater financial results. Our work to be carried on within limited lines that of the CNT/FAI Bureau and [illegible] / Committee which I had organised on my arrival. [illegible] lies, we stressed the revolution and the need of its defence as of first-rate importance. [illegible] demned us with the Communists and their new-[illegible] our allies friends on one side and the Labour Party on the other.

[illegible] would take too long to describe all the hidden and open antagonism [illegible] to our campaign and all the sabotage to prevent its success. To [illegible] only two examples first, the Spanish Exhibition Committee. I had [illegible] rich material with me from Barcelona and I had fully determined to give an independent exhibition for the CNT/FAI, but on my arrival I was approached by the secretary of the Independent Labour Party who joined his material with that of an Exhibition Committee which had been organised before I came here. Wishing to give my material the widest possible publicity I consented to the proposition. I have regretted it ever since. From the very first moment of my arrival at the Exhibition Committee sessions I was met with an atmosphere that fairly poisoned the atmosphere. [illegible] all came from members of the Spanish Medical Aid Committee who were

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same as file

[illegible] sufficient to [illegible] but did [illegible] the dead silence of the [illegible] were filled [illegible] anti-fascist strategies. In the [illegible] in a conspiracy of silence [illegible] Spanish [illegible] even refuse [illegible] accept corrections of so [illegible] of [illegible] cir [illegible] liberate [illegible] fascist allment [illegible] main. [illegible] trade [illegible] powerful organs [illegible] direct communic [illegible] contact [illegible] contra.

[illegible] obstacles, however, we nevertheless succeeded [illegible] confidential [illegible] fidelity.

Four [illegible] Under [illegible] white. [illegible] pistol [illegible] allegati [illegible] must [illegible] revolutionary [illegible]

[illegible] Dr [illegible] Heinrich [illegible] Clemens [illegible]

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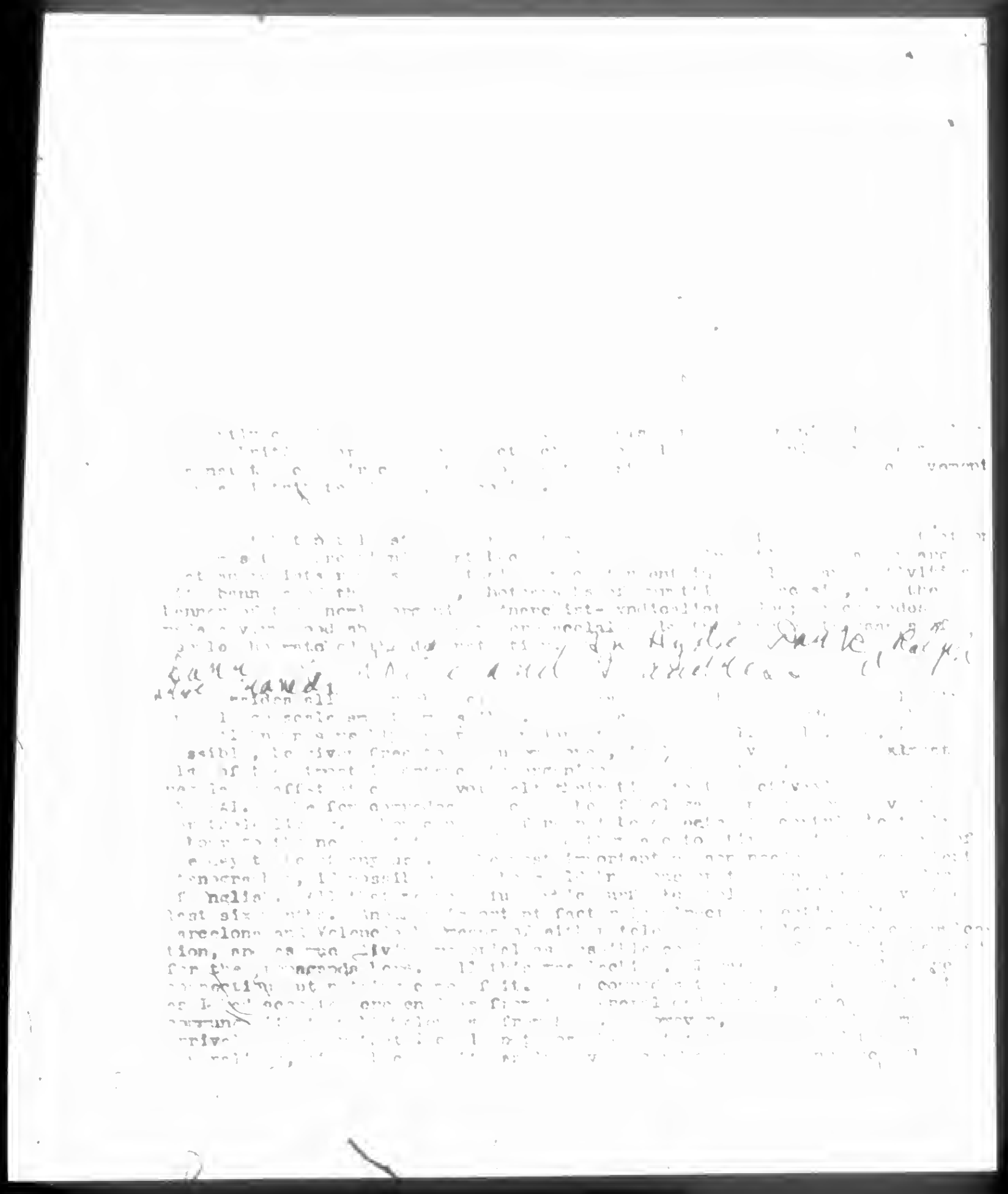

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[illegible] to what length the Communist press in [illegible] of Russia is capable of [illegible]

Insert first

In all my efforts I had the constant and devoted co-operation of comrade Ralph Bary and the help of Senia Clemens as well as all the members of the Anti-Fal Labor Committee. In [illegible] prevented to return to [illegible] the near future I strongly urge the committee to send [illegible] Comrades Barry and Clemens so they can resume the work begun last fall in the early autumn. I also had very considerable help from friends outside of our ranks, especially for the Lambert, Dr Stella Chevalier, Ethel Mannin English novelist and J.[illegible] recently interested in our ideas

[illegible]

[illegible] resume the campaign [illegible] we left behind [illegible] more eager to [illegible] in [illegible] in their battle [illegible] the future [illegible]

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4

Impeccable.

Second Insert

A few days ago I at last received the detailed account of the deep laid plot to destroy our comrades of the CNT-FAI. It bears out our fears that the concessions made to the allies of the anti-fascist struggle and the pact with Russia would prove disastrous. The story will appear in SPAIN and the WORLD and will be sent broadcast to the British and American press. The document does explain the plot but not entirely the justification for the sudden change of the leaders of the CNT-FAI from their tradition of direct revolutionary action to parliamentarianism.

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with all the international
aspects and that class
estate years, the unjust
irregularities, the human
~~possible~~ struggles,
it is worth recalling
that not a single
non-combatant
foreigner was killed
during the spread
of the Nationalist
movement from Canton
to Nanking. Anti-Foreign
methods were used
to dislodge them
where their presence
was considered
prejudicial to the
success of the Chinese
cause

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But in what other
country will you
find a population
having been
made to endure
so outrageous
a exploitation
without the most
feeble so long would
have shown
such restraint?
Certainly not the
British or an American
people who in
less provocation
never stop to consider
between the

688

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3

innocent or guilty.
The Chinese certainly have demonstrated superior patience & reasonableness quite equal to the white man.
There is not doubt the Chinese national spirit manifest is leagued by a very large and educated Chinese mass, intelligent and aware of the reasons for the white man's enmity, & actually they have endured

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4

so long as
there deter mination
is power to end
that wrong or shame

690

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5

Russian attitude not the Asiatic people has been made easy by the cultural background. A large portion of the population is Asiatic; notably the Mongols, Buriats, and Cossacks, the Tartars of Kazan on the Volga, the Moslems of Turkestan, Siberia and the Caspian region.

Group cooperation is common to Russian & the Asian Nations. The village commune in the country and artisan guilds &

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trade in the City
have always constituted
the foundation
fabric of Chinese
life.
Besides that the
Russians or Chinese
have been, have
been heard, and
been creative geniuses
in common.
Lastly Russian
so prophets, teachers
and poets who paved
the way for Russian
awakening, like
the leading spirits,
in China came
from the intelligentsia.

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21/2

Ernst Heiden recent
Biography of Hitler
shows that this worship
of the capitalist system
until the war had never
been able to find a
place for himself
[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
He. What ever he attempted
failed. and it was this
frustration which corroded
the Hitlers mind. He
was filled with Hatred
for his native land, Austria
[illegible] the Intellegentsia, [illegible]
the Jews although he never
had a disagreeable experience
with the Jews.

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The Fuhrer way
mention of Hitler's Drang nach Osten
the founder of national socialism.
He is regarded as raising Paul
by the presence of Hitler and
often on one of the Beer houses,
in Munich.
I need a man at the helm
in this hour of peril and
with the mate. I can't use
and officers, the navy,
no longer remember at
the officers.
The most sensible method
is a warrenment method
an hyrangue. The navy,
no intelligence because public
represent. The most [illegible]
[illegible] in the army. The must

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[illegible] train and a mistaken, he
must have the guts, a
[illegible] of the Reds, instead of
[illegible] of them. Such
a man is valuable to
Japan professors who
remain open only difficult
yes a wayfarer, a traveler
of wisdom, then we
will get the [illegible]
Partly after the propaganda
speech about not the "
[illegible]
[illegible]

and sent
[illegible]

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6

But mind all that Kitty
was made not born
He was made by
the causes outside
of him

The Necessary Reality

The Revolution as an
impressed upon the
allies on Roman

The Yunnan-
dynasty
Anti-the lack of
determination
of the Local Democracy
to agree thus
on Roman

696

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4

circus, the commercialized
in-fancy, my
mother, absolutely
helpless to save
herself from the
brutal and savage
masses by which
I was surrounded,
of the Kaiser,
the Prussians,
& even the cannibals
of Italy.
It took Mussolini
5 years to subdue
the republican spirit
elements in Italy.
Hitler finally danced

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into power. There was no pretext and there is no pretext up-to-date, unless necessary to massacre in Germany.

The Jews by no means, the only victim. Every day, still worse, Hitler, German hand is seen upon the Jewish wheel of Hitler power.

~~Underground~~

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p. 9

~~The Russian people~~

Long before
first appeared on
the British although
arriving much later
on the scene of
conquest were the
Portuguese, Dutch &
Spanish traders
yet marked the beginning
of the white man's
world in China.

The East India
company was the
first effective British
force. Founded
at the beginning of

699

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At the 17th Century
~~it played no~~
~~great leading part~~
not gradually grew
not a powerful
Empire. But
in 1824 the British
King renounced
the Sovereignty of this
populous country
organized administration
of the Oriental
Province under his
government granting
certain direct
action to any British
traders. This marked
the beginning of the

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incessant! conflict
between France and
Great Britain

701

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11..

I am medium to
conceal the
Best also I

702

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Mussolini, modern
"All for the State
Nothing Outside
or against the
State." Hitler calls
his programme
"Conception" "All
for National Socialism
Nothing Beyond
aside of or or
against it
As Russia grew
upward, the line
limits Lenin
in the name =

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Glamour
ideas filched
from various
social theories
passeom 'du,
nothing original
to offer. It must
therefore rely
on the brutal
at its method
to bear heavy,
coercive on subjugated
the masses to
well
the ~~Dascent state~~
in

704

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16 X

Human nature
is what lived
in the ~~[illegible]~~ in
German blemished the Army
of Japan is
atrocities. People
are a duality, depending
by they that this
lines very me,
is more merciful
than the Russ spoked
the Jews. Just
as the Serbest
Dictatorship Russ
prevented pogroms

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Well, what of
that? Gallery Rus
made no Genuish
Pogroms, neither
has Russia
but lets Russia
be programmed all
of Russian
Italian people
the leader in lab
countries go
Megally art - If
destroys concept
in Peters of Lausanne,
in Pogroms, can
centration camps

706

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12 6

Stepan ist Kaloretsji
Schuhmacher
Die Arbeiterplätze
und die Stellen
müssen nicht Ihre
Leben quälen Ihre
Gesundheit die Heiligen
Frauen! - Lenkt
Ihr Augen auf die
Hände und machen Ihr
Leben. Nicht Ihr

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9

All fear & fly the Dictatorship. Nothing outside of it, will against it. The method, the three fold factors, equally lead to the same result. Greed, force, terror, determination of political opponents, suppression of the vestige of freedom in every phase of human life

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Quotation Dr Sun Yat Sen

Introduction as regards the blame put on out side forces for inner ends

Degrading man Lands

Bolshevism new hugey to frighten infantile minds of possessing class

& & great influence on whole world. Different thing from Bolshevism in Russia much in common with China, macal..

709

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2

political economic

Russian force Chinese
agricultural people
with lure of bigger
federalistic then identity

Political. In self defense
Russia must murder
common cause with
and voice the
West has stupid to
realize the importance
of re capturing Russian
Western Jewish finance
be ready to finance
the overthrowing of Russia

710

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Russia not the only
Power in Europe
to have oppressed
nations even. Japan
it has no freedom
for her people
at home!

All governments psy
hypnotized that in the
little war. Only Russ
alone marched
out of Japan to help Korea
her efforts to redeem
herself & indemnities.

So far as the Japanese
China or Korea struggle

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4

against Imperialism in
all likely having simply
moved against Rússia by them
no matter how critical
against the dictatorship.

However, the power
of China's tradition

Why Chinese not likely
to accept Bolshevism
quote B R

However the cause
of China's troubles
the result of several
distinct events which
occurred ~~long before~~
77 years before the
P R.

1840 first Opium war

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with China, recalled
in the Chinese academy
Yang Wang to British
guide at Greenwich 5 years,
to Burma. Later, Yang
America & Scandinavia
followed suite

1896–60, second Opium
war. Britons destroyed
the palace of Peking,
supposed to have been
more wonderful and
richer in art treasures
than St Mary's in
Venice & the Odeion
Cathedral.

Not out of place
to point out early
attention to the antiq

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of the allies so far
was learned that Germany
demolished Reims

Same thing happened
when commited by the
England. Anyway so far
the superiors cycle zeppelin
demonstrated to China
England and France
Russia, or elsewhere of
territory in Many Years

1840. British diplomate
killed, a few diplomate,
demanded or got ~~no~~
Many indemnities
five more ports or
a fixed tariff in Opium

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7

Next, Both England
got Burma & France
Annam formally under
Chinese suzerainty

Then came the war
with Japan 1894-95
which resulted in
the complete victory
of Korea. Japan
as consolation got
Wei-hai-wei, deeper
greater hold on, the
interference of France
Germany & Russia
England stood aloof
then marked the
beginning of Conflict

715

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England of the Japanese
influenced by Czar
at the Russian Czar.

Russia gave Japan
an alliance against
China & Russia from
which R acquired
important rights
in Manchuria.

These rights
to Japan after the
Russo Japanese
war and finally
to the Bolshevik
government after
the R R.

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The next step in the game resulted from the killing of 2 German missionaries in 1898. The B.R. writes nothing beyond the fact as leaving the life. Had they remained alive they would probably have made only few converts, by their death they were able to demonstrate Christian ethics.

The Germans seized Kiachow & created a naval base there. They also acquired

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railroad & mining rights formerly held by the treaty of Versailles passed to Japan in accordance the 21 famous 14 points.

Shantung became a virtual possession of Japan. Dr. Sun at the Wash. Conference America protested on restitution.

However the service of the 2 mission concession did not end in China & Peru, Japan was repeatedly used in

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11

The Kaiser stay in
the big Navy Rally
The Germans insisted
that war-ships would
force the Chines to
respect Germany

Thus the incident
did helped to strain
the relations between
England & Germany
& the long sleep of
the tranquile would can
flagration

Incidentally it led
to the Boxer uprising
in 1900 which was

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directed against Germany
on Kiaochau. This
led to another gale
of Chinese legislation
each of the, unless
deo depending Re
spark
I will come back
to that event

After the war
Germany England Russia
enriched herself through
the indemnities imposed
on China she succeeded
in securing of Tsingtau
Shangtar & other spec
special cities in China

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by Russia means the Russe
all the Europeans
could settle in the ter
ritory by their troops
Those foreign soldiers
as they are called
are administrated
by the diplomatic bodies
of the Chinese authorities
have no jurisdiction over
anyone within the
gates
If any of the corrupt
Chinese governments
are overthrown or the
corrupt officials drive
in their settlements, they
can escape the punishment

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14

The Red Chinese

The Chinese make
93 per cent of the population
where white men
have the rule, they pay
eighty per cent of
the taxes, yet they
have no say in
the administration
Red children can
not play in the same
with white children
even if they are
born educated
they must pay
for it themselves

The Revolution of
1911 led by the founder

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of the nationalist party
Kow Ming Tang
Dr Sun Yat Sen
was supported by
all the liberal elements
and greed the tools
of Chiang Kai Shek
of Ten traitors.

If the Revolution
would probably have
ended all of Chiang
in 1911, had the Nipponese
Dis encouraged by
the foreign powers
utterly opposed to

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16

Yan-Shai-Shek
commander in Chief
of the northern army
had upon the order
to place peace
with the South on
condition he would
be made president
Once his aim achieved
his ~~ex~~ ambition. Or
his reactionary
practices despite
from to attempt to
vindicate the dynasty
He caused no end
of trouble and

724

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Cuetian and Yuan
Shikai the single
Stride mainly des
troying the Revolution
attained. Kautunsky
he died
San Yat Sen he
came yesterday
a year ago
which his death
in 1925

During the Wen
Yuan ~~insisted that~~
China ~~Prince~~ Yuan
Shikai cajoled
Tsing tsa insisted

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on the neutrality
of China as they
presented the infamous
21 demands to Yuan
Shih.

The enormity of this
crime could not
help but be regarded
when I will quote
the nature of these
demands.

quote

No wonder the Chinese
considered the day
when the demands were
granted, their day

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of Dawnow and Ramillie Wian.

One would have assumed that the nations engaged in a defense of democracy, a war to end war made haste stopped this unheard military of the Chinese people by one of the Allies that only died the not united-Czar but the Czar's at late as 1919

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727

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20

Unfeindeed in Korea
working w/ these de
mands by Decadently
concluded a secret
treaty with Japan
giving her the right
to do what ~~the~~ Russ
willed in Manchuria

Was then as the
desire came after
the entry of the
West Russian Revo

Now what
would any Western
Nation, England, America
Canada take alone

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If a group of Chinese had come to their country, in image their mill upon the people, they would have been looked upon with much ado, even yet the West is surprised and is now proclaiming loud in blood curdling clauses about the rate of violence in China against the foreigners.

729

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22

It maybe contented
that always the Chines
have reasons for
being anti foreign
feeling they have
no right to attack
missionaries.
But we forget
that the very existence
of missionaries
in China was imposed
with gunpowder
a unequal treaties.

The very first missionary
went to China, in
a trading boat Kanya

730

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23

The Red Circle was completely
China was trading
beat,
The Great treaties
after the Great War
war was a blamed
by imperialists
who helped to again
by them, which
gave my again days
its treaty basis

Long before the second
Opium war, messenger
went made been in my
into the interior of
China.

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24

The death of the Empress Dowager in 1897 was avenged by squeezing more out of China, much grand England, Wei Hai Wei, Russia & the Kiao Chow new Germany, Port Arthur, German Tsing-tao, & Dean de Kowa-chóp-Man. Western Troops perpetrated a thousand miles into China & Western journalists were sent to much more in the same page.

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732

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25

In all these years
the idea of Christian
missionaries or European
gunboats have been
coupled together
in the minds of
the Chinese. Than
as Bernard Shaw
said of the Anybody
man "he has not
to discover a
principle to prove
he can nail to his
mast. Then off he
is with the little
in one hand
and a gun in the

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26

He often to page the
Mexican law accept
Christianity."
On it was said
at Gladstone just
like often political,
he always had a
card up his sleeve
but whence often
he helped Redford
and put it there
If course here page
been a no doubt
are missionaries
of concerning a atheism

734

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27

Many of them are now wide awakened China. But missionaries as a class and it seemed in keeping to use in gun-boats, in wagon & bayonetted & keep with the teaching of Christ to have gunboats, war & bayonetted. They came always when the Christ to make war and

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Conquest. ~~The very things to be~~

~~There are then enough~~
reasons why the
Chinese should
not have foreigners
or missionaries

However there
are deeper reasons
for the unrest in
China than rather
of foreigners, and
this brings me to
the constructive side
of Western influence

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5 May years
in a fixed tariff on
foreign
Rice & Brancy loans
from & Indian Reform
formerly under Chinese
Employ handy

1896
cession of Kowloon
the opening of
ports to the of
Japan to France
America &c &c.
In 1896 60 cy
Be & made by
war on Russia
des Pollanc
received 7 more
ports & the year
Tientsin more terrible
in Hangyang
3 1876 death Be Rell
of a dispatch used
as pretext to wrings
a large indemnity from

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For sixtheen months Canton has boycotted British goods in South China,nearly ruining British Honkong;now, with the Cantonese occupying the whole of the Yangze Valley the British face a possible extention of the devestating policy of economic starvation. ~~In the old days-not so very long ago the white man in the~~

In the old days,not so very long ago, the white ~~me~~ ah ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ man in the East had a conviction that the orienttal understood nothing except force. The Chinese have a conviction of their own; that the Occidental understands nothing ~~xxxxxxxx~~ except money; the place to hit him is the pocket-bbok

It was the coolie mass which swept the British out of Hankow,not Russian trained soldiers from Canton. The spirit behind that mob is no product of one governments ukas, i is a reaction to a century of foreign domineering; it can not be ~~stopped~~ stopped; it maybe silenced for a moment on one spot or another,but it will sweep on accross China,is as a matter of fact sweeping on.

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This is born out by a number of authoretative writers who know China her people and the causes that led up to the struggle. Formost among them is Mr Nathanial Peffer who wrote in the N.Y Times,

The present revolution in Chinais more important than the one in 1911. It is winning its independence from the West. Ore may even say it has already won it. And the recent British note,on the surface a request to the other Powers that they join Great Britain in announcing a more conciliatory policy in China,is in effect an ad mission of Chinas victory.

Denied their appeals to Washington conference for partial relief from the obligations which the treaties with the Powers forced on China-extraterritoriality, a tariffdictated by the Powers,collection of its revenues by forei foreigners,numberless citites governed by one European country or another,foreign war vessels in its inland waters-the Chinese nursed their wrath only a short time agex But they talked less humbly. Then,after the strike and antiforeign boycott in Shanghai two years ago,they dropped all pretense of concealment. They demanded outright that the "uniqual" treaties be revised. They violated them when they wished. They began to handle foreigners roughly.

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Dr Sun Yat Sen before his death wrote about the International development in China as follows,

China a country possessing 4.289.000 square miles and a population of 400.000.000 people and the richest mineral and agracultural resources of the world, is now a prey to militaristic and capitalistic powers, a greater bone of contention ~~thxxthx~~ than the Balkan Penunsila.

Unless the Chinese question can be settled peacefully another world war, greater and more terrible than the one just ~~xxxxxx~~ past, will be inevetable. In order to solve the Chinese question I suggest that the vast resources of China be developed

His was a prophetic vision. For if we are to judge by the propaganda ~~carried on in the xxxxx~~ war propaganda carried ~~on the in~~ the press we can say that ~~already~~ everything is being done to ~~push~~ the peoples of the world into a new devastating

which in the present depleted state of Europe would be more disastrous than the late war ~~which was~~ to end war.

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China, The Fettered Spirit Unbound.

It is a common human failing to give the most inconsequential explanations for the most profound and far reaching events in individual and social life.

In individual misfortunes we always lay the blame at the door of our neighbors. In times of success we take the credit to ourselves. In social upheavals we seek and easily find the cause not in the evils inherent in ourselves or in society but in some sinister outside force which we do not understand, hence fear and condemn.

That only goes to prove that regardless of our much boasted progress man in the average is still rooted in his primitive past when he saw in every manifestation of nature some evil spirit come to heap disaster upon him.

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Our superstitions have changed, our fears have remained the same. Our modern superstition is Bolshevism which is now being creditted with the same evil powers as the sorceress of bygone days. It has become a convinient bogey to frighten the infantile mind of the complacant and comfortable section in every community.

This bogey is being used by those who ~~into~~ are interests are threaatenn to distract the attention of the masses from the real ~~source of their interests~~ cause of social inequalities.

Take up any article of our leading papers dealing with China and you will see that if it were not for Bolshevism, the Chinese spirit as well as the feet of the women of China would still be bound by ~~her~~ ancient past. But for the Third International Western methods to enslave, exploit and rob the Chinese ~~may~~ could ~~go on undisturbed~~ continue

the cause of the troubles in China are different war lords fighting each other and Bolshevism Been

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That the Russian Revolution which was will ultimately prove of greater magnitude than the French ~~must~~ exert a profound influence on the world is a forgoing conclusion. That it has also stirred China no one in his senses will deny. ~~But it is~~ of the utmost importance to understand ~~that~~ two things first that Bolshevism is not the Russian Revolution, secondly that the latter merely helped to ~~accentuate~~ bring about what had begun in China 77 years before the Russian Revolution.

Still more vital is it to understand that the ~~first~~ ~~exter~~ ~~put~~ the forces which placed the first rift in Chinese civilization came from the West and not from Russia. I will deal with that later. For the present I only wish to point out that though Bolshevism is active in China

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And all that has followed since is but the link in the long chain forged by the West in its hostoric advent on China. The most dominant factors were The Opium War of 1840 and the arrival in 1847 of the first Chinese student into the U.S. Reg brought with them a chain of events which have proven powerful enough to uproot a civilization, older, richer and superior to our own in many respects and which has withstood the test of time for fifty centuries. It is therefore imperative that we understand these epoch making events, if we wish to appreciate and correctly interprete what is going on in China to day.

But first one must get straight on the part of Bolshevism in China. That it is active its adherents themselves will not deny, there are many racial, historic and economic reasons why Russia should want to help China, yes and political reasons.

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The gesture of Russia to help free China is entirely due to the sutpidity of the Western Powers who have refused to recognize Russia and have used every foul method to fight her instead. If for no other reason it is for self defense that Russia must allay herself with the East since the West seems more than ever determined to crush her. Besides, Russia is not alone in favoring liberty for oppressed nations while her own people must smart under the doubtful pleasure of dictatorship. Have not all nations in the late war proudly mtaintained that they are fighting for democracy. But whatever the reasons, the fact remains that Russia is the only Power to relinkish her strangelhold on China. Naturally the Chinese appreciate that and hear the Russian emisaries gladly.

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They accept Russia's help because Russia is with them in their struggle against Imperialism. And in that point every liberty loving man and woman must side with Russia, however critical we are of her dictatorship at home.

As to the effect of Bolshevik theories on the Chinese, I think Mr Bertand Russel is right when he tells us in his illuminating work on "The Problems of China" that in as much as China is tending more and more to Federalism it will never except Bolshevism which rest on a strong centralized state, and because China has developed personal liberty to an extraordinary degree, it is utterly unsuited for Bolshevism which requires a great deal of government and more control of individual lives by the authorities than ever

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known before"

But, continues Mr Russell,

find practicle application.

3' The Bolsheviki dislike private trading which is the breadth of life to all Chinese except the literati.

But Bolshevism as a politisal force is not the same as Bolshevism as a creed. The arguments which proved successful with the ameer of Afghanistan or the nomads of Mongolia were probably not the same as those the Bolsheviki ~~give to their European visitors and friends~~ used to Mr Lansbury. The Asiatic expansion of Bolshevik influence is not distinctively Bolshevik phenomenon, but a continuation of traditional Russian policy, carried on by men who are more intellegent and less corrupt than the tsars officials, who believe themselves the liberators of mid kinds-outside of Russia.

In a country where ~~men have been more or less iqual and~~ there is no proletarian class, where men have been ~~locked~~ welded together by a highly developed guild system which used syndicalism for two thousand years, the soil is not very fertile for Leninism.

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Let us see what the advent of the West has done to China

The first war with China was in 1840 and was fought because the Chinese government endevoured to stop the importation of Opium. It ended with the session of Hongonk and the opening of five ports to British trade and soon afterwards to France, America and Scandinavia.

In 1856,1860 the English and French jointly made war on China and destroyed the summer Palace near Peking a building whose artistic value,on account of the treasures it contained must have been about iqual to that of Saint Mark in Venice and much great than the Cathedral in Rheims. This evidently convinced the Chinese of our superior civilization. So they opened seven more ports on the river Yangtze,paid an indemnity and granted more territory at Hon-Kong.

In 1870 the Chinese were foolish enough to kill a British diplomat, the remaining British diplomats demanded and maintained an indemnity,five more ports, and a fixed tariff in opium. Next the French took Annam and the British took Burma,both formerly under Chines suzerainity.

Then came the war with Japan in 1894 and 95 leading to the complete victory and conquest of Korea. Japans acquisition would have been much greater but for the interfervention of France, Germany and Russia, England holding aloof. This was the begining of British support of Japan inspired by fear of

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Russia. It also led to an alliance between China and Russia as a reward for which Russia acqired all the important rights in Manchuria, which past later partly to Japan after the Russia Japanese War and partly to the Soviet goverment after the R.Revolution.

The next incident begins with the murder of two German missionaries in Shantung in 1897. Prince Russlee custically remarks nothing became them so much as leaving this life, because they would probably have made few converts if they remained alive, whereas by dying they gave the world an abjext less lesson in Christian ethics.

The Germans seized Kiachhiow Bay and created a naval base there; they also acquired railroad and mining rights in Shantung, which by the Treaty of Versaille, passed to Japan in accordance with the forteen points. Shantung became virtually a Japanese possession, though America, at Washington insisted on its restitution. The services of the two missionaries to civiliazation did not, however end, in China for their death was constantly used in the Reichstag dur ing the debate on the Big Navy Bill, since it was held that war-ships would make Germany respected in China.

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Thus they helped to strain the relation between Germany and England and hasten the World War. They also helped to bring on the Boxer uprisong in 1900 which is said to have begun as a movement against the Germans in Shantung, although the other Powers emulated Germany in every respect, the Russians by creating a naval base in Port Arthur, the British by acquiring Wei hai-wei and sphere of influence on the Yangtze. America alone held aloof proclaiming the policy of Chinese integrety and the Open Door.

The Boxer uprising is too well known to go into it. After Britain proved its superior civilisation by the sack of Peking, it exacted a huge indemnity, and turned the Legation Quater of Peking into a fortified city. To this day it is inclosed by a wall, filled with Europeans, American and Japanese troops, and surrounded by a bare space on which the Chinese are not allowed to build. It is administered by the Diplomatic body and the Chinese authorities have no powers over any one withing its gates. When some unusually corrupt and traitorous government is overthrown, its members take refuge in the Japanese, or other legation and thus escape punishment for their crimes, ~~while within the sacred precincts~~ of the Legation Quaters ~~the Americans erect a vast wireless~~

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The Chinese make up 97 per cent of the pup olution of the cities which White men govern, they pay eighty per cent of the taxes, but they are not given a share in the city administration, their children can not play in the city park and if they want to send their ~~schmixts~~ sons to school they must pay for it out of their own pocket. Naturally the ~~oligarchy which has buil the cities in the forign settlement~~ are proud of their achievement and de termined to retain it as their citadel in a country of 4000.000.000 people.

The revolution of 1911 led by Dr Sun Yat Se n was ~~and~~ supported by all modern elements in China seeking to get free from the old traditions. But the Northern army remained faithful to the old dynasty ~~and it came nearly defeating the revolution.~~ But Yan-

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Druing the war the Japanese insisted on China remaining neutral, than having captured Tsing-tau they presented to China the infamous 21 demands ~~which gave gave the Chinese question its present form.~~

They consisted of five groups, the first dealt with Shantung, demanding that China should agree in advance to whatever terms Japan might make with Germany as regards the Chinese province, that Japan should have the right to construct certain specific railways, and that certain ports unspecified should be opened to trade, also no preveleges in Sgnatung should be granted to any other power than Japan.

The second group concenrs South Manchuria and eastern inner Mongolia, and demands what in effect is a protectorate, with control of railways, complete economic freedom for Japanese enterprise, and exclusion of all other foreign enterprise.

The third group gives Japan a monopoly of the mines, iron and steel works in a certain region of the Yangtze where the Brtilsh claime a sphere of interest.

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The fourth group represents a lot of single demands which consists of the denial to China to sele any harbor,bay or island to any power but Japan.

The fifth group the most serious,demanded that Japans political,finanacial and military advisors should be employed by the Chinese government; that the police in im portant places should be administered by Chinese and Japanese jointly,and should be largely Japanese in personel. That China should pruchase from Japan at least 50 percent of her munition,or obtain it from a Sino-Japanese arsenal to be established in China,controled by Japanese experts and employing Japanese material. that Japan should have the right to construct certain railways in the Yangtze valley; that Japan should have industrial prioroity in Fukien,opposite Formosa, and finally that the Japanese should have the right of missionary propaganda in China to spread the knowledge of their admirable ethics.

No wonder the Chines considered this bitter humilliation and set the day of the demands as their humilliation day, for this involved a complete loss of Chinese independence.

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~~Europe at first and later~~

Europe at first and later America were so busy fighting for democracy that they paid no attenti to the outrageous injustice imposed on China by one their allies. Mr Lloyd George like Presddent Wilson either did not know or did not care to know about the 21 demands of Japans. In blissful ignorence or wilful ness Mr Lloyd George concluded a secret treay with Japan pledging support in whatever she wanted in Shantun But young China knew the indignity and injury. And that knowldge helped to strengthen the national con scioussness brought to life by the revolution of 1911.

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~~These are the events of the first~~ may never have happened or may have been retarded for another century

These then are the events which followed the entry of the West into China. Now comes another historic event which perhaps more than the capitalizatio and the second implantation industrialization and christinaization marked the begining of China's intellectual ~~and spiritual~~ awakening and curtural awakening.

In 1847 Yung Wing, a Chinese youth of 19 ~~years~~ together with two other Chinese boys were taken by one of the early missionaries Rev Brown to America so they ~~could continue their studies in some American University~~ could study there. On arriving ~~there~~ the boys found that in order to benifit by the fund set aside for the purposes of educating heathans, it was necessary to sign a pledge to return to their country as missionaries.

Being a Chinese and brought up on the ethical conception that a promise given must be kept, ~~and~~ youn

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Yung Wing refused to sign the pledge he said first because it would handicap and circumscribe my uselfulness, ~~xxx~~ I wanted utmost freedom of action to avail myself of every opportunity to do the greatest good in China" Imagine people who cherish utmost liberty of action ~~accepting~~ ~~thexdictar~~ putting his neck in the noose of Bolshevik dictatorship, or Christian dogam.

2 Wing would not take the pledge because he felt that are other spheres of usefulness in China, and third because the pledge would prevent him from taking advantgae of any opportunity that might arise in the life of China.

Anyway, Wing first entered Mansol Academy and the entered Yale. Before the last year in college this young man had sketched out a plan to help the rising tide generation to enjoy the same educational advantages "and that China through Western education should be

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regenerated,and become powerful and enlightened."

Thoxxugh all his hardships ~~will~~ Wing lived only for that aim. And in 1854 when he returned to China he immid iately set to work on his taks.

This was delayed considerably by the Taiping rebellion which was put down by ~~r~~ron hand. The Viceroy Yeh-Ming Shi ordered seventy five thusand people beheaded ~~thousand~~ people who as Wing learned ~~xxx~~ were innocent.

But at last his scheme to help his fellows materialized, the scheme among other things was to give 120 young Chinese a chance to go to America to imbibe Western knowledge . That the govenrment should open the mineral resources of the country which would force the building of ralways, the organization of a Chinese steamship company ~~axxx~~ managed and worked by Chinese ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ The fourth proposition concerned the en croagement of foreign powers upon the independent soveri

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soverignity of China, and the prohibition of of the jurisdiction of missionaries and other religious sects over their converts either civial or criminal cases. It was not until 1870 when Wing saw his dream realized. In 1872 the first contingent of thrity students were sent to America. He went with them. In 1894 he was called home to help in the new reform movement for New Learning with a group of Chinese scholars. The movements was considered too radical,as a result of a coup d'etat some of the scholars were beheaded Wing was among those who managed to escape. He went back to America and died in 1912, having lived to see ~~the revol~~ the Chinese Revolution and and the founding of the Republic.

The movement which this remarcable man started has since spread like wild fire over China, the exodus of Chinese youth ~~who flook~~ to A and European universitites

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can now be counted in the thousands and tons of thousands,all flock to the fountain of knowledge in the the West.

And nearly all of them like Yung Wing believe in the utmost freedom ~~of~~ to utilize every opportunity the Western education can offer,without losing their own identity,or usefulness for their native land. ~~For~~ Of education abroad to the Chinese youth does not mean only what it means to most westerners,~~merely a means to~~ a carrier. To the Chinese it ~~means~~ education ~~exempt~~ is a means which sets them free from the old, from the strngelhold of filial piety, and ever so many other paralizing traditions. Besides, it acquips the Rem to become the banner bearers of the new germinating life which is now going on in China.

In fact the the most ardent and constructive force in China seem to be her student class,men and

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WHEN. alive

was

It were the students who cured their soul

and their blood in the second revolution that seemed

was

to fall in 1913. It were the students who in 1919

overturned a rotten and corrupt government in

Peking, aroused the nation, forced a surprised die

delegation in Paris to refuse to sign the Treay of Ver

saille which confirmed Japan for three short years in

possession of the sacred province of Shantung.

May 4 1919 students from thrity-three

schools in Peking marched the streets against the

injustice heaped on China by the Shnatung dicision.

They were enlarged by others

credit The 15.000 marchers came to the gates of the foreign

settlement ~~sttlement~~ demanding to see the Chinese foreign ministers

whom they justly considered as trators; But they where

refused admittance and thrity three were arrested.

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The students their comrades refused to attend classes or do their work until the boys would be released. May 7th the prisoners were set free and welcomed back to the universities as heroes. On May 20th the entire body of students declared a general strike in protest against their humility.

Prf. Dewey who arrived in China at the time wrote in the New Republic of N.Y. "while apparantly political the manifestion was far more than that, it was the manifestions of a new consciousness, an intellectual awakening of young men and young women who through their schooling had been aroused to a new order of beliefe, a new mode of thinking"

This is by no means an aggageration when we will remember that it was a group of newly

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were behind its

returned students who ~~laid the foundation of a sweepin~~
the scholar Hu Shih
~~ping~~ transformation of the Chinese langauge

axalting the spoken language of the people as against

the artificiality of the ~~old~~ written language of the

old scholars, thus laying the foundation for the

germinating mass of education.

The man who brought about this extraordinary feat is the skillful young scholar Mr. Yen:

Y C.Yen, a student from Yale and Harvard on his return to China joined the group of Chinese ~~also~~ rebesl who were revolutionizing the Chinese language. They have succeeded to bring to millions of their people an understanding of the meaning of China. The 3.000.000 text-books ~~of the vernacular language~~ now circulating among the common people do not only teach the new language but they also teach the solidariy of labour, the meaning of imperialism, the idea of citizenship, neither does it ignore the greatness of ~~the~~ China's past of which the vast mass is only now being made conscious.

A Peking correspondent reports that the new

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Nearly all the leading men in the movement have received their education in the West. ~~Sun Yat Sen was first to go abroad with Yung Wing in 1847. He was also the first to lay the foundation for the~~ present intellectual awakening of Chinese. But though ~~thousands of~~ these leaders have spent many years ~~imbibed their knowlegde~~ in the West, they have not accepted what is evil in our civilization. Being of critical minds they soon see the pretense and hypocracy, the aim for conquest, power and dominion. And they return home with a deeper appreciation for what is intrinsic and worth while in their own great land.

But it was not until the revolution of 1911 which gave these return scholars a chance to use their knowledge and experience for the good of their people Dr Tsai who ~~was elected chancellor~~ became Chancellor of the Peking University, having realized that changes in a country must root in more foundamental conceptions than governement decalred that he would use freedom of thought as the watchword of the university, it was to be the center, but the students were to become the ~~leaders~~ learners of a new culture. ~~With sixty that in view the students~~ now rodal in the new study

The new cutlrure ~~was~~ expressed in the ~~mastery~~ new ~~of the~~ values of life, the relation bewteen philosophy in the understanding of the

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science and religion, modern Chinese lierature, the world war and philosophy, reaction towarss the old family, the problem of woman's personality, the foundamental prblem of modern Chinese Moraliry, The sacredness of labour, new theories in economics, a method of attacking superstitious thought in China and many ~~xxxx~~ other vital su bjects.

1910 The womans movement began in 1910, mention the ~~xxx~~ magazine I got. But it was after thr rise of the studnets that the womans movement gained impetus. The women depanded iqual opportunitites and rights with men,, foot~~bidding and the old form of marrying girls by their parants should be abolished,~~ protection of motherhood, protective labour legislation in guaranteeing woman iqual pay for iqual work.

They declared foot binding & the old form of marrying girls by parents as ought to be abolished & refused to submit to them

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In short the cultrual awakening among the young in China seems to be much more compete than ~~ayan~~ in the West. Thus students became so conscious socially of their relation to the workers that they participated in the strike in Shanghai of 1925. It was because a striker was shot and killed that the students protested ina huge demonstration, they were unarmed with nothing more than handbills and proclamations The police of the International Settlement not only saw fit to prohibit the demonstrationn but also arrested a number of students, the other students marched to the police station where a British police inspector ordered to shoot to kill, six were killed on the spot and over forty were seriously wounded

This wanten act was heralded to the world as the fault of the sutdents who had been influenced by Bohsvism conviniently ignoring the fact that the student movement came before Bolshvism. But the result of the whole cruel business has only added fuel to the conviction of the masses of the Chinese people that the foreign settlements are being used by Imperialist interests to crush the spirit of the masses and to check the aspiration of the ~~people~~ young Benevolence

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In China the economic factors have ~~even greater~~ driving power ~~than in the West~~. Because China has the cheapest labour power on earth. And European capital which in the old days merely bought native products cheap, has ~~for~~ for the past thirty odd years installed Western factories with Western methods to produce Western prducts with the labour of the Chinese.

When anti-child labour laws were passed in some states in America it exported its lwo child size machines to China and the little girls in China are to day competing with the child Labour of the South Atlantic States.

The first cotton mill came to China in 1890, there were 14th in 1906, with 400.000 spindles.42, with 1.154.000 spindles in 1916, 83, with 2.666.000 in 1923. ~~And~~ the increase. China still imports the blue cotton cloth which is the national uniform of the masses. Somebody suggests that the annual consumption of cotton cloth would pave the roadway sixty feet wide to the moon. Yet the workers in the mills live worse than pigs.

~~xxxxxxxxxx disreputable~~ sheds surround the factories, six to eight people living in one room, floorless hut no dranage, no lavoratories, garbage heaps and chess pools surround the hovels.

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Wages are desperately low, a Shnaghia cotton-mill worker would have to work two weeks to buy a hat, much longer t buy a pair of leather shoes, A pair of sheets would take a mont labour,an overcoat three months, a ton of coal four months earning. The result is that these wage slaves do not buy hats, or coarts or coal

In the cotton and silk mills the majority of workers are women. The Child Labour Commission in Shanghai found in 1923/1924 that out of 154.000 workers in mills more than 86.000 are women, and more than 22.000 children were under 12 years of age. It is interesting to learn that in the Japanese-owned mills of Shanghai only 5.5 percent of the ~~children~~ workers were ~~underxiix~~ children under 12, and in the Chines only 13 percent,w while the British mills had nearly 18 percent children and the French and Italien 46 per cent. The American mills hade a slightly lower pre cent than the Chinese.

In the silk filatures of South China nearly all the workers are women and children. Often the children are brought in from the country by a contra/ctor,who follows goes about like vultures to round up the children and pays starving parants about a dollor a month for a contract which amounts to slavery, the girls live for years in this terrble compounds,eating his food,or in the factories,eating factory rice,working some times fifteen ~~hours~~ or sixteen hours

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a day, and often sleeping on the floor beneath their machines It is the excuse of the mill,owners that the mothers do not want to leave their children unguarded at home, that may be true which only goes to prove the poverty and helplessness c of the mothers, so even the smallest tots are taken to the factories and placed in baskets. The children at work are often tied to their places to prevent them from falling from exhaustion and sleep. Yet people who have investigated foreign and native mills agree that while the ~~native ones are dirtier, foreign owned mills are somewhat cleaner and hours are shorter and~~

the foriegn owned mills like ~~the Japanese mills~~ in the Naigaiwata,(Japanese owned) mills where the ~~strike~~ great strike took place in 1925 are cleaner than the native mills the wages better and the hours shorter, the girls are more terrorized by the armed forman than in the Chinese mills, the girls felt free, and much more at ease. One of the demands of that strike was that the forman should no longer be armed.

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Child

The Labour Commission consisting largely of froeigners after an investigation of the appaaling child lbaour conditions came to the conclusion that while 12 hours shifts for children and especially night work were most injurious it could not immidiately reccommend shorter hours within the Danish settlement when the 12 hours shifts remained outside.

It did however gra iously reccommend the urgent need of giving each child 24 rest within ever fortnight. There is an axample in Christiany for you.

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The Labour movement in China is very young although labour unity existed among the guilds, but in modern times trade untions were organized in Shaghai only in 1911 and in Canton n t until 1919. Yet the first successful strike occurred in 1920 in Honkong inaugerated by the mechanics. In 1922 was the remarcable strike of the seamen in Hongong, 23.000 Chinese seamen struck and a few days later more than hundred thousand other workers joined them. They paralized Honkong, the lorldy white men had to do coolie work, the p olice forbade meetings, closed the uniones quaters and deported leaders. But the strike went on, after forty days the seamen won wage increase, recongition of their union and even restore the unions signs which they had torn from the union building.

The same year the workers in the Pingsiang coal mines and Hyanyang steel mills struck, the Peking school teachers, the weavers of Changsha, the Canton silk filatures, in fact all over China there occurred 38 strikes which lasted six months and involved nearly every trade, and even the employees in the municipal electricicity, water works, the telephone company, native and foreign tabacco companies, and hospitals.

But in 1923 Wu-Pei-Famashed some union

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In 1923 Wu, Pei - Fu smashed the union on the Peking Hankow railway and beheaded the leaders. For this he was heartily praised by the foreign press. The Canton governement encouragee unions, the Northern Militarists serving their foreign and native bosses supress them.

But by 1925 the unions became the ~~instrument~~ symbol of ~~the~~ of the national consciousness as expressed in the Kwo Man Tang. The uprising against the foreign monopolists began with a strike in the Japanese mill, Tsingtao and the sho shots which ~~set fire to~~ released the pent up feelings of the people were fired by British police ~~xxxx~~ on strike sympathizers in Shanghai. ~~Tx~~ Chang-Tso Lin who has always been the favorite of the Japanese closed the office of the Shanghai General Labour Union. A few months later the foreign courts ~~Sun Chang Fong~~ Hale of the International Settlement turned over the chairman of the union to the agents ~~of Sun Chang Fong~~ of the Japs, the man dis appreared and is supposed to have been killed

The economic wars among the Chinese warlords, masses Remain where they are, no life security, whether native or foreign, common enemy unites them against the

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spoken language of the people,decrying the artificiality of the old written language of the scholars,thus opening the way for the germination of mass education.

It was a demonstration of sutdents in Shaghai, which silenced for a minute by police guns,touched the spark that set the Chines nation aflame in 1925 with a fire which is still scorching the proud British Empire, it is in the mere children who leave their classes for what seem futile patriotic parades that Chinas hope lies.

We are being told that besides the cry against the foreigner now sweeping like fire through China there is the cry against the Christian Missions. If that is true there is historic reason for it. The stain of blood and misddeds lies on the missions in China. The first American missionaries went to China as an illigal guest of a trading firm; and missionaries helped draft,after the first Opium War,the treaty that established extraterritoriality and gave mission work its treaty basis. Nor did these early apostles heed the treaty terms;long before the Second Opium War forced new conc concessions from China they made their dangerous way fari into forbidden cities. As recently as 1897 the death of two missionaries was used as excuse for the great international

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grab game ~~whxxxx~~ in which Germany took Tsingtao, Russia Port Arthur, Great Britain ~~Kxthxi~~ Wei,hei,Wei and the Kowlon new territoby, and France Kwia-chow-wan. To day ~~Amerl~~ ~~American~~ and other foriegn ~~gunboats~~ penetrate a thousand miles and more into the enterior of China upon the excuse of "protecting missionaries". No doubt there are many missionaries who regret the association of gunboats with Christianity, there ~~such~~ are such ~~rare~~ people at home as well as in China, but the missionaries as a whole, like most representatives of Christiantiy have backed gunboats ~~to matte~~ ~~whatxxxpurpxxx~~ as a just and perfectly Christian method of s conquest and power. In any event it is natural that young rebels who want to free their country from those who hold it by the troath should call the Christian organizations and their officers ~~xxx~~ the "hawks and hounds of the imperialis

Dependence on gunboats and treaties was only one symptom of the ~~fxx~~ alien arrognance of the old missionaries. They believed it their duty to impose Christianity, with all its Western forms, on China. ~~Theyxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ They were successful until Chinese students returned from the West where they had seen the blessings of Chirstinaity at work in Western countries with its defense ~~against~~ of might against right, ~~its defense~~ of wealth and preveleges against

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poverty and injustice. And in the late war which was to end war the Chienes abroad and at home saw the ghastly spectacle of Christian nations ~~at each others throat~~, devestation ~~huge~~ destroying, killing. Who can blame the Chinese if they will have none of our Christian civilization, ~~none~~ of its dogmatism, its supression of thought and ideas?

To the Chinese Christianity can mean very little as compared with their own ancient religions of Confucinaism, Taosim and Budhism. The Chines fought no religious wars, nor did they have to bow to doctrines and proscriptions which helped to stunt their creative genius, and ~~dex~~ decry as sin their love of beauty and freedom.

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Bertrand Russell tells us
~~Anita Tarcan~~

~~When one ask the average American for the meaning~~

Anita Tarcan

The average ~~American~~ sees in civilization the substitution of tidiness for art, cleanliness for beauty, moralizing for philosophy, prostitution for cuhcubines because easer to conceal and a general air for being fearfully busy for the leisurely calmm of of the traditional Chinese.
If this idea prevailed in China it would no doubt by means of hygiene save many Chinaman but would at the same time make them not worth saving.

Mr Russell concludes the Chinese are the only people ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ in the world who quite genuinely believe that wisdom is more precious than rubies. That is why the West regards them as uncivilized.

And yet we at the West need the wisdom of the East to temper some of our ideas. Perhaps if we had more of the wisdom of the East we would have more [illegible] and qualities of life

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Old China, struggling to give birth to a modern nation, i is in a stage of spamodic convulsions. She has been geeging u begging the Powers to leave her alone, to stop dosing her with their medicine. At the very moment when she seems to som hope of pulling herself together, when the Canton group is at last uniting the country, the Powrrs deaf ~~in~~ these many years, suddenly present their report that now is not the time to change medicine. In the future maybe, when their will be a stable government, but not now.

Imagine a solemn report signed by Italy, Spain Portu Portugal, Japan, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark France, the British Emprite, the U.S. "~~Xxxx~~ All The Treaty Powers" of whom Italy and Spain are ruled by military power and the blackkest Fascism, Japan by a despotic clique, Britan holds India by force alone, yet all these people presum to tell China what she ought to do to be saved, ~~they~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ There is a demonstration of the orrogance of the white man. But it is an old truism that those who in the very process of social and ethical disintegration arethe first to preach to others what their life and actions ought to be.

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Young China.

Quote Prof Kew his impressions of the Young vibrating atmosphere he found on his return to China after he had b en away ten years.

"Almost at once I found overwhelemed by a kind of invisable power, The people I met, the converstations I had showed me the tremendious awakening and eagerness in everywhere. One evening strolling through the streets I picked up 47 magazine each dealing with a new angle on the life and aspirations of the Chinese people."

This has been born out by many students of China, Mr Bertrand Russeàl, Prof Dewey and others.

This new germinating life while mainly articualted by the sudents movement and the strikes whihc have taken place over a period of years yet show that the giant asleep for so many thousands of years is stirring, that the fettered spirit ~~afxthexmmmx~~ is breaking its chains, that it has risen and is now marching through the land in rebellion against the ~~xxxxx~~ native and foreign enemies.

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While engaged on the theoretic solution of the pressing problems in their country the Chinese students did not remain inactive in the social struggle, thus when they learned on April 30th 1919 that that Shantung was decided in favor of Japan

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Perhaps nothing so demonstrates the difference between our mechanistic attitude to all human values and the attitude of the Chinese than the sotry about the Judge and the butterflies'

A westerner came into a Chinese court and there found during the proceeding a swarm of exquisit butterflies swirling ~~thrughx~~ the court room. When the case was heard and the culprit allowed to go free the windows were opened and the butterflies allowed to fly out into freedom.

The Westerner asked ~~thex~~ the reason for this strange performance, he was told that the Jddge was a great lover of butterflies so the people gathered them up and brought them to the court room as it put the Judge in a kindly frame of mind. Then the Westerner asked the Judge for the meaning, his reply was that beauty must have a curative effect on criminal tendencies, he therefore always used butterflies to effect the first offender by their beauty. In most cases ot worked the Judge said.

Imagine a Western judge using butterflies to reform criminals, instead we use the police mans club, the third degree and the ~~prixx~~ prison. We certsinly have much to learn from the East. Let us therefore make it known that we had enough of the horrors of war, that we stand for the right of the Chinese people to bring about

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changes they are striving for in their own way. Let us loudly proclaime that the Chinese have the right to free themselves from the foreign as well as thr native enemies. We in the West have our own great task which leaves us little time to interfer with other peoples, we have the taks to make the West politically, economically and spiritually free.

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Kuomintang meas as follows, Kuo means country, min means people, tang or ton g association. Kuomintang means association to bring the country into the hands of the people. It is half a patrotic half politcal organization. It has three basic principles.

First, Peoples Nationalism, the freeing of China from foriegners who have tied up the country by treaties dictated dictated at the cannons-point.

Secondly, Peoples Soverignity, devepopement of education and pòlitcal democracy.

Third peoples livelyhood, better opportunities for Chinese businessmen, better conditions for Chinese Labour.

The man who put forwsrs these demands was Dr Sun Yat Sen the founder of the first Chinese Republic and its first presidnet.

Although I believe in the selfderminarion and independence of all nations I yet feel that if these demands were all there is to the present awakening of China I should not consider the whole thing important enough for discussions But I am convinced that the storm and stress in China goes much deeper to day. quote from Gannett on the struggle of China.

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The Chinese have in them to give to the world a new contr tribution to civilization as valuable as that which they gave in the past. One of the great ~~philos~~ sages and poets of China O Lao-Tze disscribs the ethical principles of Taoasm as production without poessession, action without self assertion development without domination.

Another poet Po-Chui takes as his hero a man who mutilates himself rather than to fight in war. Which shows that inherently the Chinese are not a warrior nation. They believe in peace as a superior quality than war. Wehn they go West it is to gain knowledge. On the other hand the West has gone to China to fight, to make money and to convert the Chinese to the Christian religion which preaches peace and yet everlastingly enageges in wars.

Now whatever may have been the idealistic motives of the men and women who went to China to preach Christianity

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in effect their work like that of the soldier and merchant has been to stamp by the bible,fire and sword the Christian civilization upon the world.

The Chinese do not attempt to convert us to Confusi ionism, they say "religions are many,but reason is one" and with that they are willing that we should be saved in our own way.

The Chinese seem to know a better method to gain their ends than the sword, it is public opinion. It was this which ~~gaixrtdxafxthax~~ which was deciwive in the teachers strike The clash with the police caused ~~xxxxxtxxyx~~ a terrific out cry because the love and esteem for education in China is real. The striek was supported by the press and the masses hence had to be given in by the governement.

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The Russian Theatre before and since the Revolution.

First Russian theatre established by two sisters of Peter the Great, ~~Nataltax and Sophiex~~ The Grand Dutcheses Nathalie and Sophie. Later Peter the Great removed the theatre to Petrograd and made of it the first Imperial theatre in Russia.

Simultanuously, a group of young ~~artists~~ amateurs, sons of the rich merchant class organized a theatre in Yaroslavlya But Peter would have no independent effort, he ordered them to Petersburg and included them in his troup of actors he had imported from Danzig.

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While the Kaiser
consider himself
a rule autocrat
ruling in the art
of the Deities, it
yet had the people
behind it. The people
[illegible] the
costume deceiver
Salome, sexy beguiling
music is of great
importance to

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such plays as Lo! Jesse
Lustenthale, the
feel of Théroette,
the yellow jacket
and Romeo and
respectfully to the
method of the Romeo
on the stage and
plays Romeo & failed
fell flat

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What must be done is to insist ~~that~~ in every possible way on the understanding that the crisis which has come is not a passing thing because it has been inspired from abroad: that on the contray it is permanent and endemic. ~~Ratio Chirs will never be a remark of Conservatism~~

There is something proceeding very much like the strugg between superstition and civilization, between Chirstianity and Hellenism of twenty centruries ago. This Hellenism this news stock of ideas which has become politically paramount, works with vigour and sovent force which belongs to science and whic makes all older ideas appear shrivelled and whithered.

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From Why China sees Red. Putnma Weal.

The main issue in the copflict is the issue between tow types-the Chinese, vague, hesitant,phylosphic, the other precise,dogmatic and stiffening under opposition The Chinese,guided by instinct and intuition,very early in the nineteenth century came to the conlcusion that foreign intercourse was fated to become an ungovernable element unless the sternest measures restricketed it ~~and ma~~ ~~made its continued existance depend~~

Although the treaty of Nanking is 85 years old,it is just as fresh and pertinent,and its interogations just as unanswerable, as they were written on board the old line of battle-ship Conewallis lying off the great City of Nanking. All the clauses of the document speak of the conflcit of two wills,two types of civilizations

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This led to the need of a literary renaissance to make the Chinese language vernacular and accessive to the mass of Chinese and not only the preveleged few. The credo of these innovators is based on their realization that all great changes in Europe are the result of revolutions As one of them writes revolution means to discard the old and ch change it into something new, thus since the renessance in politcs there were political revolutions, the same with religion morality

We must overthrow the old aristocratic literature and establish a literature of the people, we must over throw the literature which is secluded in the world and establish xxxx a social literature.

Mxtxun

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But the intellectual unrest did not satisfy the awakened young generation, the corruption of the govern ment and especilly the dependence of the country made so drastic by the impostion of the 21demands kept the students in.great fement. They decided to hold a protest meeting on May 7th the national humilliation day, at one of the prelimanry gatheringsxkyx thudent Tshia deliberately broke his finger and with his blood wrote on the wall return"our Tsing Tap.

On that day they marched and marched to the legation gate, they had planned to send their delegation to the but the gates were closed so the studnets stood 10.000 in solid columns waiting. Then suddenly the gate ipened xxdx opened a few studnets marched in but suddenly firing began from the soldiers within. Thrity two were arrested,while b being led to the police station they were beaten.

The ~~Chinese governemtn used this affair~~ to

Xxxbxx

The other students used passive resistance

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Very — Dear —
there are the
Cantonese army
as the Pyramenting
he at least
should make
vision then
the when, when
he said to the

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The General of the
People's Army
Deng Hsu-Ping
called the Chiang
General

Marshall Chang
Tso-lin reverse the
Sentency
Nuts!

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Chinese Revolution of
1911 and its
Chang Kai Shek
Betrayal of the
Deng Yu's Dream
Re-Dead Yu
can tell Nothing

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ahead an army
is approaching at
Rotzenerds. You
must take up the
rid and see what
kind of men
make up the
Yankee

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~~xxFromxFouthxAbsmixFhexRepublicxxxChina~~.

The Assitant Professor of Political Economy ~~xxx~~ Science in Tsing Hau University Peking, Mr S Yui ~~givesxthexxxxxxfxhexpeoplexxxfollows~~ in an article in the London Daily Express gives the case for his people as follows,

"The period in China to day is a period for emancipation. The Chinese revolution which began in 1911 is a fight from depotic rule. This fight will continue until the Republic is firmly established.

The Chinese renaissance movement, which began in 1917, if a fight for emancipation from iliteracy anf for freedom of thought. This will continue until illitaracy vanishes.

But the most important fight to-day is the fight for emancipation from "the uniqual treaties" which have bound China hand and foot for over eighty years. And this fight will continue until the Powers realize the gross international injustice they have done China, and give China her legitimate place among the family of nations.

What China aspires to-day is not any concessions from any of the foreign Powers, but merely the restoration of her independence-no more than that-and no less than that.

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station said to be capable of communicating direct with the U.S.

One good thing has come out of the Boxer uprising the Americans after paying indemnity on all just claimes found they still had a surplus, this they turned over to China to be spent on higher education, partly in colleges in China under American control, partly by sending advanced Chinese students to America. The gain to China has been enormous, and the benifit to A from the friendship of the Chinese beyond calculation.

we are fighting on the Pasific although our strength is not a match with the strength that you brought against autocracy and corruption.

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a country of four million ~~people~~ yellow people.

The Chinese has for untold centuries followed tradition and has believed it wicked to devieate from it. His young men and young women however have begun to dis pise customs and traditions; and his middle aged business-men, almost unconsciously, are bgining to igonre it. It was only forty years ago that the first railroad tracks laid in China were torn up by superstitious officials; to day they are an indispencable instrument of civil war, as is the once despised telegraph. The only opposition comes from Westernized Chinese who know how easily ~~politics~~ international politics slip into engeneering contracts.

The Chinese doubt a propostion until it is proven to be true, the Japanese believe in it until it is proven false.

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It was entirely the temendious pupular indignation on the part of youmg China which prevented the Chinese re presnetatives at the Versaille gathering to sign the Treay which continued to give Japan the strangle hold over China. Later at the Washington conference modified the Eastern Treay considerably and returned Shantung to the C inese Still Japan has huge holdings in China and acts as a corrosive upon the awakened consciousness of the Chinese people.

Labourher's comment on Gladstone, that like other politicians he always had a card up his sleeve, but unlike others he thought the Lord had put it there.

plan of education has already reach very province in China each having its educational organization

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In the Shanghai International Settlement if a Chinese commits a crime ~~nextextrtd~~against a Chinese he is tried in a mixed court,where a foreign ~~xxxxxxxx~~assessor not only presides over the proceedings with a Chinese Justice, but dominates the proceedings. In cases involving both Chinese and foreigners, the Chinese assessor is still more dominated by the foreign justice and is only a figurehead.

Surely no justice loving person can blame the Chinese for their present antegonism against the foriegners. If Chinse living in other countries had been guilty of even a small percent of the abuses and wrongs ~~thexfhx~~ they have suffered at the hands of the ~~foreigx~~ foreign invadors they would have been exterminated without much ado. If anything the Chinese have shown supreme patience and forbearance with ~~thetrx~~ the foreigners in their midsts.

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Yaung China. Gannett.

Cintrast between the the city on the Whangpo built by the White Man with

The difference pointed out by all writers in China in the City of Shanghai where live the foreingers and the Chinese, the foreigners only about forty thousand, outside the wall live two million people pressed together in poverty and squaller, borad ~~xxxx~~ paved streets, massive stone buildings clanging street cars, electric lights, gas runing water, sewers, a pretty river front park reserved for the children of the white man to ply, here as in the West, men work in droves of thousands, here ~~xxxx~~ the West has made itself at home in the East.

Chinese, with their habit of explaning everything by thousand years-old parallels, ~~xxxx~~ tell that there were student revolts in the Han Dynasty, before Chirst was born, the nationalism of the student movement to day, however, passionately denouncing foreigners and all their works, is essentially a part of the Western efficinecy cult. This political nationalism, this conception of national soverignity as a precious right to be cherished and preserved, has its roots in foreign education and practice-in part in Allied war propaganda.

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a position he held until his death. That his followers are determined to unite all of China ~~they have been~~ ~~demonstrated~~ and to free it from her ~~mix~~ native as well as forei enemies they ~~have~~ are now demonstrating to the world.

~~Ghinaxi~~ Modern Chinese like our thought but dislike our mechanism. While modern Japan ~~dislike~~ our thought but like our mechanism and dislike our thoughts

Journalism in China is still considered a semi,disreputabl occupation. How wise the Chinese are.

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Such an intolerable imperialism was bound to strengthen the national consciousness of the Chinese people which had been helped to life, in August, before the revolution of 1911. But

3

The old Chinese patriotism ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ - a patriotism profounder than anything known in the West-was cultural ~~rather than political, including rather than exclusive~~. It was a loyalty to a civilization ~~rather than to~~ the state, passive ~~rather than aggressive~~. It was powrless to stop the intrusion of Western men and methods into the political and economic control of China, and was satisfied because the Westerners were so obviously inferior in the refinement of living

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the first to rise to a new consciousness were the students and the methods used by the tsars until the revolution were merely repeated in China. The same awakening among students took place in Germany before the revolution of 48.

And like the Russian students who helped to pave the way for the great changes in Russia the Chinese students set themselves the taks to transvalue the old values

In regard to traditional customs they are trying to find out of what value they are to day. In Regard to the teachings of their saints they are inquiring whether they are edequate to day,. Towarss conventional forms and beliefs they ask must we accept them because they are still approaved by the majority. Are there not better methods, more in keeping with modern life more advanced than the old? This change and critical attitude involves a break with the old and the past. The old motto of the Chinese was walk slowly behind the elders,revere the past. The slogan of Chinas youth to day is Self-expression.

Some of the problems which interest these young people are the problem of Cunfucianism, of the literary revolution,of the emancipation of womanhood, of sexual morality,of eduaational improvements,of marriage, of the relation between father and son

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No wonder the apologists for the condition in China are so incensed against the students. Thus Mr Putnam Weale on the Menace of Red China Sees Red Tells his

Modern China committed the error of placing the seats of new learning in the heart of her capital cities, thus tending to make her universities under loose republican regime centers of perpetual uproar and dissatisfaction. In the old days the higher learning was pursued in the quiet of one's own home, the provincial

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and national capitals sheltering the examining bodies,who conducted examinationss at which it was essentaal to succeed in order to enter official life. While it is recorded that the Tang Dynasty that as many as 8000 student studied together in the capital,nothing like the present system has ever existedxim before in China.In Peking alone there are more than forty colleges and higher schools with no less than 20.000 studnets. A scheme has now been worked out whereby these youths can be mobilized over night,filling the streets with endless marching columns, which are concentrated at certain points,anad alraming the the population with their savage cried. That it will be necess necessary to remove these institutions of highmr learning far out into the country as a police measure if now admitted. No governemtn can carry on its work when students are used to screen behind thaxmaxxxx which to mencae the administratio

The sprit of disatisfaction and contempt for old restraints has been intensified by all thes things. In China to day exactlt the same condition prevail in regard to higher education as existed under Czatist Russia;-it is unlimitted and far too cheap. The prevelege rpovided by the otherwise poverty-stricken state are indeed so great that a num

~~number out of all proportion~~ taxhaing x

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number out of all proportions to the requirements is being educated to discontent and agitation

Further more the easy conditions in the collgeses crea create a spirit of unruliness which is without parallel in any other part of the world. The studnets often decide what the: their course of studies are to be and who is to teach them, unpopular prfessors being driven out by strikes which have never ~~properly~~ been preoperly checked

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The news of the brutality of the police and spread like fire over China add brought out all the students into a general strike which in the end became so alarming that the governemnt had to give way.

The menifesto of the studnets is most interesting this is what it said

"The freddom of the students has Dinally been estab lished. The sacrifce mfx through war and blood xxxxthxxxxx and bloodshed was the nature of the 19th century. But our sacrifice is differnnt, we use Right to overcome Might. and Rightiouness to overcome cruelty. We use perceverence, we never turn back,even facing militarists and soldiers. We are not afraid of death, we keep on. We stand for the active movement of the People.

Their appeal to Europe sent on April 14th 1920

friends of Great Britain, America France

You have your Magna Carta,your Declararion of Independence,your French Revolution;you have fought and bled for liberty; you have just sacrificed your sons in the cause of democracy; can you see our nation destroyed,by autocracy,by corruption, by debauchery and not wish to help us? We ask you sympathy. We ask you not to prejudice us; We are fighting yo r battle as much as our own;for what you have fought on the Atlantic

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The Chinese students flaunting their posters and banners parading by the thousands against uniqula treaties ,and making soap-box speeches about self-determination they express contempt for the passivity of their ~~leders~~ elders.

~~Without the iconoclastic students~~ Sun Yat Sen ~~long years of revolutionary activities would have been in vain~~; the students poured their souls and blood into the second revolution that seemed to fail in 1913,and it was the studnets at Peking in 1919 who overturned a rotten and corrupt government, aroused the nation, and forced ~~the~~ a surprised delegation at Paris to refuse to sign the Treaty of Versailles which confirmed Japan-for three short years,in possession of the sacred province of Shnatung. ~~It was a group of just returned~~ studnets who, in the ~~preceding two years,had laid foundation~~ of a greater revolution by ~~exalting the spoken~~ language

If Aut were all to the rise of the young generation against the foreign rule

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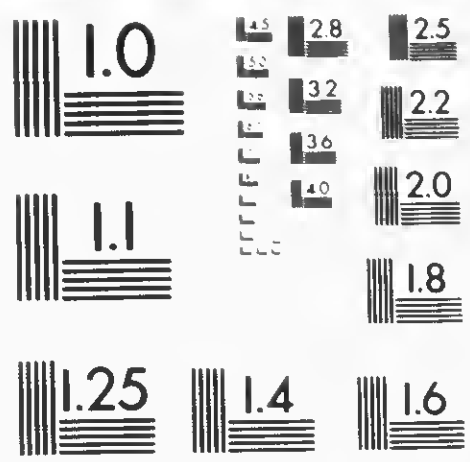
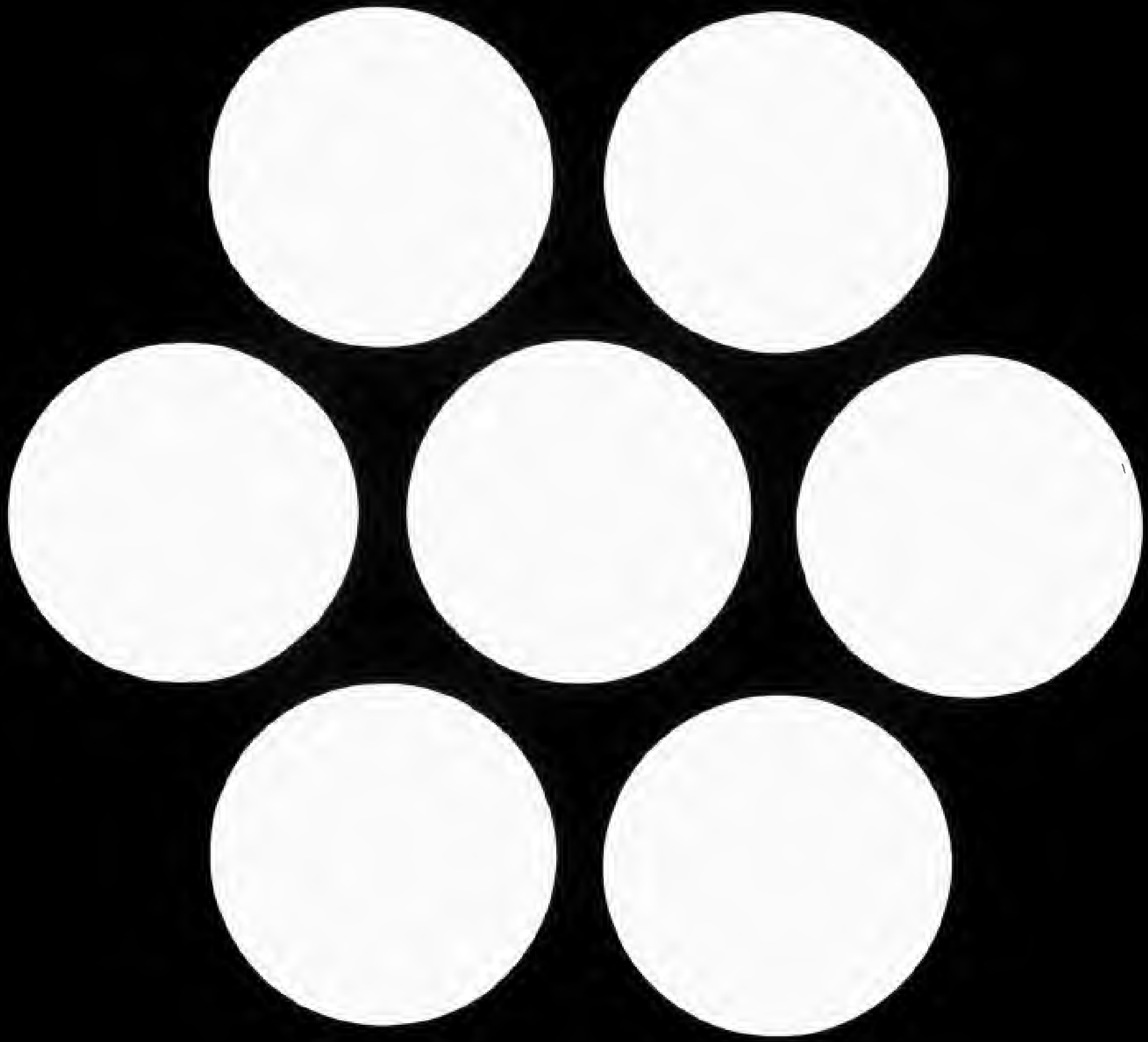
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